

OXFORD EXCAVATIONS IN NUBIA

By F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A.

WITH PLATES IX-XXIX

(Continued from p. 18.)

III. NUBIA FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW KINGDOM

The present instalment describes the results of our work in chronological sequence down to the end of the Egyptian New Kingdom in the Twentieth Dynasty; the description needs to be accompanied by a brief historical sketch in order to place before the reader a framework into which the individual finds may be fitted.

When the Egyptian colonies¹ above the First Cataract which produced the Protodynastic cemeteries perished or withdrew, apparently about the middle of the First Dynasty, civilisation seems to have almost abandoned the country for a thousand years or more, so that a great gap ensues in the archaeological record of Nubia which is hardly diminished by the scanty B-group finds.² Egypt, on the other hand, was making great advances in organisation and power as well as in arts and crafts, culminating in the glories of the Old Kingdom with its pyramids and elaborately-decorated tombs and temples.

The Old Kingdom has left few traces in Nubia. The fort of Ikkur, near Dakkeh, however, may date back to its very beginning,³ and even beyond the Third Cataract the fort of the Western Defûfa at Kerma has yielded relics of the Sixth Dynasty.⁴ Thus the Egyptians dominated the country by military posts. Notwithstanding this, graffiti of the Old Kingdom are seldom found above the First Cataract, and are almost confined to an important group dating from the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties on the rocks at Tomâs, where a land-route avoiding the great Korosko

1. It may be mentioned that Professor Junker doubts Reisner's Egyptian colony theory, looking upon the settlements as of a distinguishable race of Nubians as far back as the Middle Pre-historic Period (*Kubanieh-Süd*, pp. 2-6).

2. Above, p. 12.

3. Firth, *A. S. N. Report*, 1908-1909, p. 22.

4. Reisner in *Zeitschrift f. ägyptische Sprache*, LII, 35, 48, and in *Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Bulletin* XII, 11, 23.

bend of the Nile reached the river again.¹ Moreover, no cemetery nor even a single burial of the Old Kingdom has as yet been recognised in Nubia.

Egyptian inscriptions of this time occasionally mention Nubia.² In a certain year of the reign of Seneferu (who immediately preceded Cheops, probably about 3000 B.C.), the great event was a raid up the Nile, the booty amounting to seven thousand Nubian men and women and two hundred thousand beasts (oxen and goats). More than one Nubian (*nḥśi*), dark-coloured or negroid,³ can be traced as holding a high position in Egypt or even in the royal court at Memphis, during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. It is not till the advent of the Sixth Dynasty that we learn to distinguish the Nubian tribes or districts by name. Biographical inscriptions of this age tell of exploring, trading or punitive expeditions to Wawat, near the frontier, Arerthet, Meja and Yam. These Nubian tribes were also drawn upon for contingents of troops in the Pharaonic armies. Many 'pacified' (or 'friendly'?) Nubians thus visited Egypt or settled therein, and apparently might be awarded rights and privileges in Egypt which were a burden on the native population.⁴

The decentralising tendency of the Sixth Dynasty perhaps began to restore a certain measure of prosperity to Nubia, though Phiois II at some period in his prodigiously long reign sent an expedition to punish Wawat. However that may be, the complete break-up of the Old Kingdom at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, after Phiois II had been king for nearly a century, gave Lower Nubia an opportunity of independent development, stimulated no doubt by the example of Egypt. Thereafter we find Nubia between the First and Second Cataracts occupied by flourishing communities belonging to the so-called C-group of Professor Reisner. They may have comprised such native inhabitants as had survived in the same region under the Old Kingdom, but these must have been mixed with or dominated by some fresh Hamitic strain (from the desert east or west, or from the Nile-lands further south), arriving with a certain amount of independent culture. Their skeletons show them

1. Weigall, *Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, Pl. LVIII.

2. Professor Reisner has collected the evidence from portraits and inscriptions in his *Outline of the Ancient History of the Sudan (Sudan Notes and Records I, pp. 6, et seqq.)*. See also Breasted, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, pp. 142-168.

3. Junker shows that *nḥśi* should not be translated 'negro' in the strict sense of the word, true negroes as yet having scarcely come into touch with Egypt (*Kubanieh-Nord*, pp. 12, et seqq.).

4. Decree of Phiois I regarding the temple of Seneferu at Dahshûr, ll. 14, 15, 20, 21 (Borchardt in *Zeitschrift f. ägyptische Sprache*, XLII, 1, Moret, *Chartes d'immunité* in *Journal Asiatique*, XI Sér., tome XI, p. 387).

to have been negroid, in many instances differing considerably from the 'Protodynastic' people.¹

These people are traceable by their cemeteries, of which the northernmost yet found is in Egypt itself, about ten miles below the First Cataract,² and the southernmost ours at Faras, twenty-five miles below the Second Cataract. Between these limits they have been recorded at many points, not only in the complete examination of the north half of the district by Reisner and Firth, but also further south by Steindorff,³ Junker and Weigall.⁴ It seems probable that the C-group inhabitants of this now arid region were in origin a pastoral people like the Baqqâra 'cow-herd tribe,'⁵ who now wander over the grass-lands of Kordofân, or the Ma'âza 'goat-herd tribe' of the eastern desert of Egypt. Leather is a conspicuous material with the bodies, skeletons of goats occur in the graves, cattle alone are figured on the peculiar cemetery-stelae, and bucrania are frequently laid at the sides of the superstructure.⁶ But, although it would seem that pasture must have been much more abundant than now to support the large population and their herds, the position of the cemeteries on both sides of the Nile appears to show that the C-group people were tied to the Nile valley in the main. The graves were marked by circular sandheaps retained by dry stone walling, and were often protected by a casing of slabs over the top; graves of the ancient nomad Bega and the modern Bisharîn offer close analogies.⁷ Unfortunately, no certain

1. Elliot Smith and Derry, *Anatomical Report*, in *Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, *Bulletin No. 6*, pp. 11-19. Toldt, examining Junker's material from Kubanieh, has not been able to detect in it any considerable negro admixture. (*Anthropologische Untersuchung der menschlichen Überreste . . . von el-Kubanieh*, p. 45).

2. At Kubanieh, see Junker's memoir, *Bericht über die Grabungen . . . auf den Friedhöfen von El-Kubanieh-Nord*, *Denkschriften of the Vienna Academy*, Vol. LXIV (1920). The graves in this interesting cemetery are well preserved; they begin with advanced C-group at the southern end and, going northward, pass by gradual stages into purely Egyptian burials. The C-group graves altogether number one hundred.

3. At Anibeh. For this excavation, see p. 4, note 3, above, and *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* I, p. 218.

4. Junker, *Kubanieh-Nord*, p. 4, enumerates cemeteries as far south as Toshke Ermenne and Farig, all lying north of Abu Simbel. Weigall's collections of pottery in the plates of *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia* show some very fine specimens from Toshke, and fragments from opposite Abu Simbel.

5. It is noteworthy that among the ancient tribal names Arerthet is almost identical with the word for 'milk' in Egyptian, perhaps a dialectal form, and Yam looks like 'palm'; dates are still the most important product of many parts of the Nubian valley.

6. The last three features, strange to say, are absent from the tombs which are considered to be the most ancient.

7. Junker, *Kubanieh-Nord*, p. 10, who refers to a valuable paper by Schweinfurth on Bega tombs at El Kab and their affinities, *Gräber der Bega in Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, XXXI (1899), pp. 538 et seqq.

remains of their habitations have yet been found.¹ They may have been flimsy huts or tents, but one would imagine that individual sites were occupied for a long period so that relics in the shape of pottery, stone, bronze and charcoal would have survived to mark them as in the case of the Protodynastic villages. Whatever may have been the origin of the C-group people, their possessions as revealed in the graves, their peculiar and abundant fictile wares, black topped haematitic and black incised, and their large and frequent cemeteries preclude the idea that they could have been really of nomadic habits at this period. As to their colour they adorned their faces with black stibium, which seems to prove, as Mr. Firth has remarked,² that their skins were not very dark.

Dr. Reisner, in his first excavation for the Archaeological Survey recognised that the C-group belonged approximately to the Middle Kingdom;³ and, subsequently, numerous finds in less completely plundered cemeteries have pushed back its early connexions, so that it is now considered to extend both before and after Dyn. XII. This is true enough for certain developments, but to the present writer it has seemed probable, and this impression has been confirmed by Junker's instructive excavation at Kubanich, that the typical C-group civilisation of Lower Nubia, after long existence and having risen to great prosperity in its later stages, was entirely put an end to by the Egyptian conquerors of the Twelfth Dynasty. Few, if any, of the Egyptian objects found in the C-group cemeteries of Lower Nubia bear the impress of the Twelfth Dynasty.

In his very able summary of the C-group as illustrated in the great cemeteries at Dakkeh, Mr. Firth endeavoured to distinguish sub-periods.⁴ According to his classification, (a) the use of brick vaulting for graves and chapels, orientation of graves to the north instead of to the west, and the deposit of black incised pottery with polychrome filling were distinguishing marks of a later age, and (b) the latest of all the C-group burials were in shallow, poverty-stricken 'pan-graves' in the sand overlying the alluvium. Graves of class (b), though not numerous, were scattered widely through

1. Two sections (A and B) of a stronghold discovered by MacIver and Woolley near Amada, and published in their *Areika*, chaps. II-IV, where it is attributed to Dyn. XVIII, abounded in potsherds and figurines of the C-group people; this may, however, be due only to the breaking-up of a C-group cemetery by an invader or later settlers in order to erect a fortress on the spot with the stones; the Egyptian 'foundation sealings' (*ib.* p. 9 and Pl. IX) might be of Dyn. VI-XVIII by the style.

2. Firth, *Report 1909-1910*, p. 17.

3. Bulletin No. 1 (1908), p. 19, more fully, *Report, 1907-1908*, pp. 335, et seqq.

4. *Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1909-1910*, pp. 10, et seqq.

the cemetery No. 101, while those of type (a) were all at the north end. The front row here consisted of very large discoidal superstructures with their bricked graves oriented to the north, and with brick chapels on the east side, and it was these large tombs that contained the fine polychrome-filled ware. Without assuming that they were later, one could explain their special features as due to the high rank or wealth of the deceased, who set the orientation for their poorer brethren around. But at Kubanieh too, there seems to have been a movement northward in the cemetery from earlier graves to later. Here, however, though Junker found brickwork in most of the graves, there were no large tombs with chapels attached, no polychrome pottery and no orientation to the north. The influence of Egypt and the comparative poverty of the Nubians settled north of the Cataract would sufficiently explain all these points. More material is required to decide whether the distinctions proposed by Firth will hold good. Our Faras results are indecisive, but unfavourable as regards the orientation test. Furthermore, the 'pan-graves' might be simply shallow burials of poor contemporaries of the stone-ring graves. If, however, the stone-ring C-group cemeteries of Nubia were begun at the end of the Sixth Dynasty and ended in the reign of Sesostriis III—these would seem to be the extreme limits possible—they would have covered a period of not less than 400 years, or much more than that by some recent computations, and their actual extent would indicate long growth.

In the obscure period of Egyptian history that followed the Sixth Dynasty, the names of the divisions of Nubia, except Wawat, vanish from the inscriptions, though Meja reappears in the revival of the Twelfth Dynasty and onwards as an ethnic term applied frequently to Nubians serving in Egypt as allies, mercenaries, police, etc. The great Menthotp of the Eleventh Dynasty smote Wawat. In the Twelfth Dynasty appears a new and famous geographical term, Cush, probably designating the country beyond Wawat, which latter may have ended about the Second Cataract. Sesostriis I overran Cush, but a century later Sesostriis III fixed the frontier of Egypt (beyond which the Ethiopians, their boats and their herds of cattle might not pass except for service) at Semneh beyond the Second Cataract. A chain of his great fortresses blocked the difficult passages by land and by river from Buhon to Semneh,¹ while others held Lower Nubia in subjection. Far beyond these, too, the Egyptians still

1. For plans and descriptions of many of these fortresses see Somers Clarke, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, III, 155, and for names and identifications, Gardiner, *ib.*, p. 184.

held the ancient outpost at Kerma just south of the Third Cataract; here in the temple and fort Reisner found a tablet of Amenemmes III (recording the number of bricks used in rebuilding),¹ and other relics of the Twelfth Dynasty; and Egyptian monuments of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties at the quarries of Tombos and the Island of Argo show how firm and extensive was their hold in this distant region.

Apart from the fortresses, monuments of the Twelfth Dynasty and the succeeding period down to the New Kingdom are few. Temples, however, did exist at great centres like Kûbân,² opposite Dakkeh, Buhon just north of the Second Cataract, the fort of Matûka in the Cataract itself, in the eastern Defûfa at Kerma, and on the island of Argo, and it is probable that the names of the chief Egyptian settlements in Lower Nubia, Baki-Kûbân and Mi'am-Anibeh with their Horus gods were already established no less than Buhon (Boôv) which is actually found with the Mont-like Horus of that city on a stela of the reign of Sesostri I.³ At such places there are also Egyptian cemeteries of the Middle Kingdom⁴ though generally very scanty. Graffiti from Dyn. XI and onwards are found throughout Lower Nubia.

Thus, by the time of Sesostri III the C-group civilisation of Wawat or Lower Nubia had been utterly obliterated in Wawat itself, though its representatives transported northwards perhaps lived on in the 'pan-grave' settlements in Upper Egypt;⁵ and a barrier had been set to all Nubian encroachment by the fortifications of the Second Cataract. Behind these fortifications, however, around the Egyptian outpost above the Third Cataract, a different tribe developed its culture under Egyptian influence, rendered more benign by remoteness. This is the culture which was

1. Figured in *Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* XII, 15. Junker in *El Kubanieh-Nord*, pp. 17-18, 21, etc., appears not to have known of this decisive piece of evidence of Middle Kingdom occupation beyond Semneh, and argues that the Middle Kingdom monuments had merely been captured from the north or imported later.

2. A stela found here of the reign of Amenemmes III, L.D. II, 138 g., cf. Textband V, p. 60, was evidently dedicated in a temple.

3. Crum, *Stelae from Wady Halfa* in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XVI, 16.

4. At Dakkeh, cemetery 110, (Firth, *A. S. N. Bulletin*, No. 7, p. 9); at Buhon, however, (see MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, chaps. IX-XV and Plan G) the three chief cemeteries H, J, and K contain tombs of the Middle Kingdom, which must have been exceptionally numerous there. Probably a large proportion of the tombs in H and J were cut in that period, though they were re-used later. H 1, 6, 31 are shown to be of the Middle Kingdom by the stelae, J 14 by the stela, J 38 too, probably, by a cylinder of Amenemmes. Cemetery K is early throughout, but is not confined to Dyn. XII, since K 8 contained a plaque of Neferhotep of Dyn. XIII (ib. Pl. 74). The dating in *Buhen* needs careful revision in the light of new discovery.

5. For these see Wainwright, *Balabish*, especially p. 5.

revealed by Reisner's marvellous discoveries in the necropolis of Kerma.¹ It lived on and flourished until it in its turn succumbed to the wider ambitions of the New Kingdom conquerors.

Of the Kerma civilisation we found no trace at Faras. Graves containing the beautiful and characteristic pottery of Kerma are rarely found elsewhere, and they are hardly more numerous in Lower Nubia than in Upper Egypt.² These outliers belong to the troubled Hyksos period immediately preceding the Eighteenth Dynasty and must represent groups of Cushite (Majoi ?) mercenaries introduced by the Egyptians to aid them in war and garrison important points.³

The rise of the Theban power of the New Kingdom put an end both to the Hyksos domination northward and to the Cushite Kingdom in the south. The conquerors of the Eighteenth Dynasty began the reoccupation of Nubia in a thorough manner, and thenceforth for a very long period not a shadow remained of independent native culture. Their temples were built or rebuilt at first on a modest scale of brick and sandstone,⁴ but one by one temples constructed entirely of stone rose in many places at the command of Hatshepsut, Thutmosis III, Amenhotp II, Amenhotp III, Amenhotp IV and Ramesses II. All Nubia was governed by a viceroy or 'king's son' who, in the time of Amenhotp III began to be known by the distinctive title, 'King's Son of Cush';⁵ the tribute of Wawat, however, was counted separately from that of Cush proper. The temples—Abu Simbel and Soleb were doubtless the greatest of all—made a wondrous show, and there must have been a good deal of government-traffic up and down the river; but the ruling class of residents (which to judge from the proper names was in part recruited from the natives), was probably a mere handful, and the rest count archaeologically for nothing. Cemeteries are small except at Buhon and Mi'am (Anîbeh); but graffiti are common throughout the region to the Third Cataract, and Napata at the Fourth Cataract was now perhaps the furthest outpost.

1. Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma* I, II in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* LII, 34; *id. New Acquisitions of the Egyptian Department in Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* XII, 9.

2. A few at Buhon (*Buhen* cem. H 1, 8, 16, 31, 45, cem. J 11, 33, and cem. K 35 ?), several at Kûbân, and one at Shellâl, against several at Abydos (cf. Hall, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* I, p. 219) and single examples at Abadiyeh, Hû and Qurneh, see Wainwright, *Batabish*, p. 43 and cf. *ib.* p. 7.

3. For the kingdom of Cush and the employment of or alliance with the Majoi, see the Carnarvon tablet, Gardiner, *Journal of Egyptian Arch.* III, pp. 99, 105.

4. Cf. MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, chap. IV.

5. Reisner, *The Viceroys of Ethiopia* in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* VI, 32.

No temples have been found of the New Kingdom after Ramesses II,¹ but the later Nineteenth Dynasty and the Twentieth Dynasty are traceable in graffiti and in important tombs at Anibeh and elsewhere.

IV—THE C-GROUP CEMETERY AT FARAS.

About two miles to the south-west of the Diffi or Citadel of Faras, the gravel plateau that stretches to the Nile valley from the sandstone hills of the higher desert is broken by a shallow khor. On its northern bank the mixed gravel and sand rise to form a low rounded knoll, and this knoll was strewn with rough blocks and slabs of sandstone which, when looked at more closely, resolved themselves into numerous circles set close to one another and fairly regular in form, though largely hidden by the drift sand. Here and there fragments of pottery were seen, and on our first visit to the spot we were surprised to find black-topped bowls lying intact and obviously in their original position, mouth downwards in the sand, and so near its surface that their bases showed above it. This fact induced us to hope that we had found an unplundered though much denuded cemetery; but we soon discovered that the graves had been systematically rifled in antiquity, and the circumstance of the pottery remaining in position was due to its having stood originally outside the tombs and not inside them. It was a C-group cemetery of the type that has since become familiar through the publications of Reisner, Firth and Junker.²

The cemetery occupied a space of about sixty by one hundred metres. We excavated nearly half of it, beginning at the S.W. end (south by the river), and assigned to it the number 2, the excavated graves running from 1 to 244 (see Pl. IX). Perhaps if we had carried our work on to the northern end we should have come upon bricked graves and chapels; but where we excavated not a single brick was found. With few exceptions the superstructures were much ruined. They were of the usual type, from two to five metres in diameter, dry built of rough unshaped sandstone

1. See however below, p. 100, for remnants of a shrine of Dyn. XX (Pl. XXII, a, b).

2. The best of the published material for the Nubian C-group is in *Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1907-1908*, Pl. 61b, pottery, Pl. 69, necklaces, Pl. 70b, small objects; *id.* 1908-1909, Pls. 37-41, 46-48 (from cemetery 87 at Koshtamna); *id.* *Report for 1909-1910* Pls. 12-19 (superstructures), Pl. 20, pottery from cemetery 97 at Dakkeh, Pls. 29-35, pottery, etc., from cemetery 101 at Dakkeh, Pls. 36-37, various objects, Pls. 39, 40, polychrome-filled ware; Junker, *Kubanich-Nord*, Pls. 1-14. The objects figured here (Pls. X-XIV) are selected to fill gaps with new or interesting varieties.

rubble. They appeared to have stood originally 50 to 80 cms. high, and were filled up inside with sand to the level of the top of the enclosing wall; many of them had also been paved above with flat slabs, and over graves 70, 71 a large part of this paving remained intact, but since the early robbers had descended to the graves through the middle of the superstructure, the covering slabs had generally disappeared and only the ring wall was left.¹

The graves within the circles were oval pits in the sand, averaging in size 140×70 cms., and having a depth of from 60 to 150. The sand was so light and ill-compact that the ancient plundering had generally resulted in collapse of the sides of the pit; its measurements, therefore, were often difficult and sometimes impossible to determine. The orientation of the pits was not uniform, being anything from compass-north to south-east, but generally, the compass direction was either due north by south (2, 7, 17, 19, 26, 27, 43, 47, 150, 197, 199, 204, mostly indeed without traceable superstructures), due east by west (e.g., 35, 52, 65, 101) or roughly south-east by north-west at about 110° ; the directions are shown on the plan. Those with N-S axis, scattered along the S. and W. edges, were not visibly later than the others.² Of graves without superstructures, some were oval, a few triangular (15, 36, 62), and some of 'pan-grave' form, shallow and circular (e.g., 9, 10, 29, 63, 64). They may well have been only poorer graves contemporary with the others.

In this cemetery we found five tall stelae of white sandstone some three metres high, neatly shaped and smoothed, with flat oval section about 50×15 cm. increasing in width at the top to about 70, and rounded off above. In one case, grave 151, the stela had stood apparently within the superstructure of a tomb, though not at its centre, and must have projected about two metres above it (Pl. X, *a*); in grave 117, the indications pointed to a similar arrangement; in another case, no. 212, the stela did not seem to stand in relation with any particular tomb; at grave 36 it had stood recessed in the side of a grave which, as lacking the regular superstructure, would otherwise have been regarded as of the poorest class. Again, it seemed possible that the wall of the superstructure of grave 128 stood on a stela, thrown down and left as it lay broken in two (Pl. X, *b*). All were quite plain. The lower ends of four of the above

1. Junker *Kubanieh-Nord*, p. 43, doubts whether every ring in his cemetery (the south end of which was remarkably well-preserved by deep sand) had enclosed a paving.

2. See above, pp. 68, 69. The only identified example of an animal buried with the corpse was in gr. 2.

were found in position, showing that the broad faces had looked N.E. and S.W. by the compass in 36, 151, 212, N. and S. in 117. Whether these stelae really marked tombs and belonged to such, or whether they stood there before the tombs were dug, and were the pillars of some sacred 'high place,' it was difficult to say; they did not seem directly connected with the building of the stone superstructures or necessarily with the period to which these belong. But Mr. Firth, in the previous year, found four plain (?) stelae, perhaps in pairs, among graves in the southern half of the great C-group cemetery at Dakkeh,¹ and at the northern end where the later or more luxurious tombs were placed, one with a group of cow and calf rudely engraved in outline and filled with colour;² and he figures another similarly decorated from cemetery 118 at Qurta on the east bank which he found re-used (?) in the offering chamber of a C-group tomb.³ Thus certainly stelae were set up in C-group cemeteries, but apparently were not commemorative; among the early or average graves they are quite plain, among the later (or superior?) tombs they are decorated with figures of cattle. Mr. Firth has already suggested that the latter may have been to ensure a supply of milk to the dead,⁴ and whether plain or with figures they may have been for the performance of religious ceremonies to that end.

In most of the graves only a few scattered bones remained; in very few were the bodies found undisturbed. However, there was plenty of evidence to show that the general habit was to place one body only in each grave, contracted upon its right side (contrasting with the Protodynastic custom) except in graves 62 and 214. The head pointed in any direction from compass-north to south-east, and the face accordingly looked between west and north-east; the axis of the body did not always follow that of the grave. In grave 180 the body was found with its head west, but it had been disturbed. In grave 45 there was every appearance of the body having been dismembered and the bones broken before interment; the grave was in fact too small for an ordinary contracted burial. In grave 2 a goat lay buried with a male skeleton.

In many instances, remains of clothes or wrappings were found. The most common material was leather, e.g., in graves 85, 89, 188 and 193,

1. *Report 1909-1910*, Plan 3, nos. 435, 436, and nos. 415, 508a. Is not also no. 214 'sandstone slab' a stela on which the circle has been built, as perhaps in our grave 218?

2. *Ib.* Pl. 35a, near nos. 55, 58, see Pl. 16b.

3. *Ib.* Pl. 35b.

4. *Ib.* p. 17.

in graves 162 and 229 showing traces of having been dyed red. In grave 184, quantities of leather (in a very rotten condition) were found reaching from the waist to the feet, and covering the arms also; perhaps a leather skirt was worn either by itself or with a kind of jacket or cloak. On the other hand, the remains in grave 219 seemed rather to suggest that the whole body had been buried in a leather sack. This must have been spread open in the grave, the body laid in position on it, and the mouth of the sack then drawn up together by thongs that passed round through the upper pleats. The circle of the sack's mouth lay almost intact over the body about the waist, and the leather could be detected over all the limbs and beneath the body, which lay on a reed mat; a coarse loosely-woven linen of very string-like texture may have been in the nature of a shroud, for it was found outside the leather. A finer linen also loosely-woven and resembling rather a coarse muslin seemed to have been worn next to the skin (grave 189). Several of the bodies (graves 66, 74, 184) had been wrapped up in reed or straw mats, the remains of which were found both above and below the bones.

Beads were very seldom found with male bodies, but in the graves of women and children they frequently occurred. Beadwork in various colours formed the ornamentation of a child's leather belt in grave 54 (Pls. XI c; XII, 1; XIV). Strings of beads were commonly worn round the ankles, wrists or neck, see graves 74, 99, 118, 124, 184, 192, 219. The beads were of gold (8, 121, 165), granite or diorite (195, 219, 238 ?) steatite (? graves 34, 41) and shell. Besides the usual turquoise glaze in abundance, dark and light glaze were found together in 217 and 229, and black glaze was used in the belt of 54. Two flattened barrel beads of bone were in 118 (Pl. XII, 3), brown glaze barrel beads in 121, blue glaze melon beads in 211 (Pl. XII, 2). Carnelian was plentiful. Some dull whitish quartz beads in 211, 219, 238, had been coloured to resemble pale carnelian, the paint washing off unexpectedly in the cleaning. A barrel bead of glazed stone was in 42, a blue glazed pendant of rock crystal in 211. Of shells, cowries were found in 22 and 106, and *Marginella* in 121. Of shell, also, petal-shaped pendants were in 160, a lunette ornament in 113, and a rectangular pendant occurred in the rubbish of the cemetery. Finger rings were of ivory, graves 34, 74, 176, 192; horn (?), 41; of shell, 162, 219, 226, as many as four occurring on one finger (Pl. XII, 4). Armlets were of ivory, graves 42, 85, 165, 187; marble and alabaster, 91, 173, or of thin shell cut obliquely, 178, 179, 192, 215, 223 (Pl. XII, 5).

The amulets found were a rude hawk¹ of turquoise in grave 8, a foot of carnelian² in grave 31, an 'unkh of silver in grave 54 (Pl. XII, 8), a pierced natural pebble shaped like an animal in grave 130 (*ib.* 7) and a tiny green glaze pendant perhaps intended for the Horus-child³ in grave 211. There were also in grave 160 a hemi-cylindrical seal⁴ with human figure engraved in a series of straight lines (Pl. XIV), and in grave 125 a small scarab with obscure floral design (*ib.*). Shells containing kohl were found in graves 34, 47, 54, 126. The only copper objects were three circular mirrors,⁵ one of them with a rough human head on the handle (Pl. XIV), but green stains on the bones in gr. 115 showed whence metal had been stolen. Rough bone needles were in 97, 132, 142, 147, 215, 235, 240. A mushroom-shaped ear(?) stud was in 157 (Pl. XII, 6), a frit boss in 118 where also were found a terra-cotta doll⁶ and a fragment of a worked ostrich-shell (Pl. XII, 9), a disc, cut out of a grey-green 'Egyptian' potsherd and grooved round the circumference, in 71, and the horn of an ox in 117.

Two alabaster vessels (Pl. XII, 14, 15) occurred in graves 54, 78,⁷ and a fragment of another on the surface.

Most of the pottery lay not inside the graves, where generally only fragments remained, but on the old ground surface in connection with the superstructures. The vessels lay usually against the north or north-west face of the stone ring, or, where there was no superstructure, on the north-east of the tomb pit; occasionally they were deposited on the west, and in two or three cases some were on the south, with others on the north-east side. The bowls, black-topped or incised, which formed the great majority of these offerings, were inverted in the sand; the jars stood

1. Cf. Petrie *Amulets* No. 245 j-g, Dyns. VI-XII.

2. Cf. Firth, *A. S. N. Report*, 1909-1910, Pl. 36e. Well known in Egyptian graves of about the Sixth Dynasty, Garstang, *Mahâsna*, Pl. XXXIX; Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, Pl. XXVIII.

3. Cf. Petrie, *Amulets*, No. 145, both arms down sides.

4. Cf. Firth, *A. S. N. Report*, 1909-1910, Pl. 36e, 16, Pl. 41, fig. 26. In Egypt, *Mahâsna*, *ib.*; *Diospolis Parva*, Pls. XXV, XXVIII, XLI, 1, 2, 3. Newberry, *Scarabs*, pp. 56-61, Dyns. VI-XI.

5. The circular form is characteristic of early mirrors between Dyns. VI and XI. *Mahâsna*, Pl. XXXIX, *Diospolis Parva*, Pl. XXXI.

6. The only specimen that we found, though such figures are common among C-group remains, see for instance, *Aweika*, Pl. 8.

7. The latter (cf. Firth op. cit., Pl. 36a 5) resembles specimens of Dyns. V-X from Egypt, Garstang, *Mahâsna*, Pls. XXXVII-XXXVIII, Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, Pl. XXVIII. Professor Petrie notes its resemblance to bad shapes of Dyns. IX-XI, and considers that it cannot be as late as Dyn. XII, and that the larger vase (fig. 14) cannot be earlier than Dyn. XI.

upright or lay upon their sides. Thin discs of sandstone or pottery D. 8, served as stoppers to jars inside the graves (104, 122, 225).

By a few of the largest tombs, 78, 79, 151 (165 ?), 162, 223, were also placed one or more bucrania (five with 162), arranged in a straight line, sometimes overlapping or separated from each other by a lump of sandstone (Pl. XI, 1, 2). They were typical bucrania, not entire skulls; but if they had ever been painted, like the examples from the allied 'pan-graves' at Hu in Egypt,¹ all traces of colour would have disappeared, as the bucrania had lain on the surface exposed to the weather. A rough granite palette or lower grindstone (Pl. XII, 12) lay with the pottery against the superstructure of grave 102; a remarkable granite mace-head of plain ring form (Pl. XII, 10, 11), probably the only weapon yet found in connexion with C-group graves, lay near 227; and a pierced disc of pottery, apparently a spindle whorl, was near 42.

The pottery (see the type-sheet, Pl. XV) may be divided into Egyptian (?) wheel-made (classes I-V), and Nubian hand-made (classes VI-XII).

The former include:—

(1) A series of pale greenish grey or drab *ballās*-ware vessels. Large jars I a-c² of which the lower half in many cases is shaped by hand, and smaller ones I d-j.

(2) Pots with white facing, II a-c, sometimes suggesting that a substitute for alabaster was attempted; the ware is red or pink, but the best example II b is of *ballās*-ware.

(3) Red ware pots, II d-g.

Of the smaller vessels some were undoubtedly brought from Egypt, being identical in ware and shapes with Egyptian specimens between Dyns. VI and XII.³ Most of those from Faras are pierced with a hole, perhaps to render them valueless or kill them. The same has been done to the exceptional examples III a-d. Of these, c and d must be of Proto-dynastic age⁴ (hand-made) and doubtless were stolen from the neighbouring cemetery to place at the graves. On the other hand, III a and b, especially

1. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, p. 46 (see also *Gizeh and Rifeh*, p. 20) and from Steindorff's C-group finds at Anibeh (Leipzig *Ausstellung*, Sieglin-Expedition in Nubien, 1912, p. 8).

2. The ware is illustrated from Egypt under Dyns. XI-XII in Petrie, *Denderah*, Pl. XVIII, but the characteristic jars (except Ib—*ib.* fig. 195) are not to be found in publications of Egyptian material.

3. I f, g, *Mahāsna*, Pl. XLI; I i, II b, c, *Diospolis Parva*, Pl. XXXIII, 17, 6, 12; I j, II c, *Denderah*, Pl. XVIII, 187, 190; II d, *Mahāsna*, Pl. XLII, all Dyns. VI-XI. I i, II a, c, are attributed verbally by Professor Petrie to Dyn. XII.

4. Types 7 and 10-12 (approximately) of the Proto-dynastic cemetery, above, Pl. III.

the latter, are known as types of Dyn. XVIII.¹ Unfortunately, the precise find-spot of a is not recorded; but Mr. Woolley (who found and recorded this cemetery) attached particular importance to the discovery of b, which he considered to confirm his provisional attribution of the C-group remains to the period of Dyn. XVIII.² This specimen was high up in the filling of grave 208, associated with the usual C-group pottery, but the grave had been plundered, and it is possible that the vessel was brought thither by the plunderers. Moreover, there seems to be evidence that both types occur in the Twelfth Dynasty.³

Wheel-made bowls IV are rare, of the ring-stands V only two specimens were found.

Designs of animals, etc., are found scratched on the large 'Egyptian' jars, types I a-c, after firing (see Pl. XIV).

(b) The Nubian hand-made ware includes:—

(1) Black incised bowls VI a-k, rather soft through insufficient burning, rough inside, the outside sometimes polished before incising. The decoration which was often filled with white consists of dog-tooth impressions below the rim, the body covered with rows of hatched triangles and lozenges, strap bands crossing each other in various directions, sharply angulated bands, etc., often clearly in imitation of wickerwork and plaiting. They appear to have been made specially for the grave furniture, perhaps as substitutes for the baskets, etc., of perishable materials used in the house. New and interesting varieties are shown in Pl. XII, 16-19, and Pl. XIII. The loops on Pl. XIII, 9-10, and the scroll-band on the fragment, Pl. XII, 19, are unique, curved lines (cf. also Pl. XII, 17), except those due to the form of the vessel, being hitherto unknown.

(2) Black-mouthed incised bowls, VII a-c, of similar ware, rough inside with red outer surface and slight black top; the decorations are similar, but are sometimes confined to an edging below the rim. Scarce. See Pl. XII, 16, XIII, 13.

(3) Black top bowl with pimples appliqué VIII a. Dog-tooth is

1. III a Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, Pl. XXVII K 351, etc. III b MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, Pl. 38, S XXI; Quibell, *El Kab*, Pl. XIII, fig. 30; Petrie, *Kahun*, Pl. XX, fig. 21; *Labyrinth*, Pl. XVIII, figs. 72, 73.

2. MacIver and Woolley, *Areika*, chs. II-IV.

3. III a Petrie, *Nagada*, Pl. XLVI, fig. 53; *Gizeh and Rifeh*, Pl. XIIIe, fig. 120; Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos III*, Pl. V 2 (Dyn. XII). III b Peet, *ib.* fig. 3; Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, Pl. XIII c, 142, XIII d, 179 (Dy. X-XII?); *Denderah*, Pl. XVII, fig. 66 (these early specimens of b, however, seem all to be of smaller size).

stamped on the horizontal surface of the lip in the only specimen found (Pl. XIII, 1).

(4) Plain black-topped bowls, polished inside and out, IX a-h. Abundant.

(5) Plain red haematitic bowls, black core like the last, polished inside and out and of the same forms as the black-topped, but red over the whole surface both internal and external. Scarce.

(6) Black-mouthed pots, X; b and c may be decorated with incised patterns round the rim (Pl. XIII, 5)

(7) Plain pots, generally black core but often red inside and out, XI; b is polished black.

(8) Jars of reddish (yellow) clay with coarse surface, XII a-c, a with comb impressions, b, c with incised hatched diamonds and triangles. Along with these conventional designs occur special figures of a different character though likewise impressed before burning (Pl. XIV). The ox on XII a from grave 232 is well outlined; on XII c from grave 78 there are three indefinite figures.

Two of these hand-made pots, X e from grave 162 and XI c from grave 160, have been pierced with a hole like so many of the 'Egyptian' specimens.

The fragment (Pl. XII, 20) of ribbed ware is doubtless an example of domestic ware used for cooking, which has strayed into the cemetery and may be later.

Mr. Wainwright, discussing the pottery types, concludes that in this cemetery the type IX g (which is a 'pan-grave' type in Egypt and should therefore be late) is especially associated with bucrania, and that black incised ware becomes scarce with the increase of IX g and bucrania.¹

As can be seen from the references to Egyptian parallels, the bulk of the datable material from this cemetery takes us back before the Twelfth Dynasty. To make it contemporary with Dyn. XVIII is impossible, but some of it may extend into Dyn. XII.

1. His discussion is preserved with the records of the expedition. For the Egyptian 'pan-graves' see Wainwright's recent memoir, *Balabish*, pp. 42, et seq.

V. THE MIDDLE KINGDOM FORT AT FARAS

There can be little doubt that the Egyptian Twelfth Dynasty in some way or other paid attention to Faras: in fact, a written indication of its activity here is preserved in a fragmentary inscription from the Temple of Hathor of Abeshek, probably dating from the end of the Middle Kingdom, which recorded a prayer to the Horus of a place associated with the name of the great King Sesostri III of the Twelfth Dynasty (see below, p. 85, No. 6); probably, therefore, we may attribute a small fort which we found at Faras to the activities of that great fortress builder.

It is remarkable that all the earliest remains of Faras are on the edge of the western desert (see Pl. I). This fact appears to lend special force to a tradition among the inhabitants that a second arm of the Nile once ran here under the western desert, branching from opposite Geziret Faras and re-entering the main stream at El-Wizz. The bed seems still traceable in the low ground behind the sandhills with the landing-stage of the fort projecting into it. Indeed, in the absence of visible early remains on the eastern side Mr. Woolley was of opinion that in all probability this western branch had been the main channel as late as the Middle Kingdom.

At a point not far northward from the Proto-dynastic Village the supposed old river course runs immediately along the lower sandstone plateau which breaks away in a little cliff face ('Edge of Rock,' on the map, Pl. I) about a metre and a half high. A line of large stones running out almost at right angles from the rock face first attracted attention to where, on the flat surface above, fragments of sand-worn pottery lay amongst traces of mud brick walls. This, on excavation, proved to be the site of an Egyptian fortress. It was a small one, measuring internally only 70 metres by 80 metres, built throughout of mud bricks (except for one or two internal walls in which rough rubble is used) and surrounded by a solid wall having a thickness of 3·3 metres. Unfortunately, the building had been so utterly destroyed and denuded that there was hardly anywhere more than one course of brickwork left; but the ground plan of the excavated part was sufficiently complete to give a fairly good idea of the character of the place (see Pl. XVI). The quay is now simply a double row of sandstone blocks of various shapes in one layer nearly 1·50 metres wide, lying on the surface and much sand-worn; perhaps it was never more than this. It begins at about 15 metres from the terrace,

and continues for about 18 metres down the slope in the usual way of such primitive landing-places on the Nile. The eastern wall was about 25 metres behind the edge of the rock face, and, doubtless, the entrance for which the quay was made had been on this side. On the west, outside the main wall, was a narrow wall only fifty-five centimetres in thickness, provided like the stout rampart behind it with square salients and joined to it at the north end (the other end was ruined away) by a serpentine wall of a single brick's thickness that recalled the similar wall at Buhon.¹

If this serpentine wall be merely a containing wall intended to hold up a platform of sand, as seems to have been the case at Bohon, then there must have been against the west wall of the fortress a lower platform from which the defenders could repulse an attack with hand-to-hand weapons, while at the same time it would protect the mud brick wall against sapping or battering by an enemy. There was no rock-cut trench like that at Serra.² The other walls to north and south are not similarly protected by outworks. Inside, the buildings are arranged in blocks more or less self-contained; hearths are the only signs of domestic life that have survived, but bins and circular granaries are common as might be expected in a military outpost.

The objects found in it were singularly few. Fragments were plentiful of drab Egyptian pottery such as are commonly found on sites dating from the Twelfth Dynasty to the Eighteenth and of red pottery that might have been of any age. In the chamber D, outside the circular granaries, were found jar sealings and numbers of broken specimens of the rough little pots about 25 cm. high, and tapering downwards, which are so plentifully found in the forts of Ikkur and Kûbân.³ More of these latter were to the north and east of D, jar sealings to the west and solid cones of mud baked and unbaked between D and A. There were also several batches of small mud sealings, in all about a hundred, impressed with one and the same design of Middle Kingdom type, from a scarab or scaraboid, with three or four rather larger, impressed from another scarab with a closely similar design (on Pl. XVI). If they had been attached to letters they would have shown more variety; probably, therefore, they had marked stores, etc. in the fort. A plain burial of an adult extended

1. Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, pp. 122-123, and plans E, G.

2. Mileham, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, Pl. 30.

3. See Firth, *A.S.N. Report*, 1908-1909, p. 24 and Pl. 49b. None were found whole and many were pierced at the lower end.

on the back with head to W. was found in the N.W. corner, and inside, near the middle of the N. wall, a similar burial of a child : these may have been Christian, as were some rough dwellings against the rock-face near by—outposts, perhaps, of the great cemeteries further north. Scanty as they are, the remains at least prove a date earlier than the Eighteenth Dynasty for the fort.

The tapering pots just mentioned make it appropriate to notice here a find made at the south-east end of the Meroitic cemetery. Grave no. 19 was built against the N.W. side of a circular pit about 300 cm. in diameter and 70 cm. deep, which had evidently been a kiln : it was filled with ashes, among which lay a great number of little conical pots. We contented ourselves, unfortunately, with taking one perfect specimen, and made no observations as to how closely the others agreed with it in capacity. The spot is not far from the temple of Tutankhamun, and I am inclined to connect the kiln with the temple settlement. The specimen taken (on Pl. XXVI), now in the Ashmolean, is 13 cm. high and 5 cm. wide, tapering to about 2 cm. below where it is roughly rounded : the mouth is quite irregular like the outside generally, but the inside is smooth with a fairly regular taper to the rounded end, so that with care a cast of the interior can be extracted without injury. The cast is about 10 cm. in length, 4 cm. broad near the mouth, and tapering to 2 cm. near the end. Some of Mr. Firth's specimens, which vary in size, may have given a cast of twice the bulk of ours, and many of them were pierced axially. This example is not pierced below : possibly the holes were made after filling to facilitate extraction of the contents. It has been suggested that these pots were nozzles of bellows, crucibles or moulds for ingots. That they were at least sometimes used to hold papyri is shown by an example, 21 cm. long, found by Professor Petrie at Kahun,¹ which contained three small legal documents of the reign of Amenhotp III. That each should have been intended to contain a soldier's ration of beer or other liquid seems improbable from their small size and porousness. It might be found that their tapering form was intended to facilitate their moulding on a block, giving a fixed content, rather than that they should be used for matrices themselves. The matter requires further study of examples. The evidence of the monuments, curiously enough, may

1. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, p. 92, figured Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, Pl. XIII, 30. Another of the same size is shown in *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, Pl. XII, 34, amongst pottery types of Dyn. XII, and a much larger one, L. 38 cm. in the foundation deposit of Sesostris II, ib. Pl. XIV, 14 and p. 22.

point to their use in bread and beer making: they are similar to certain strange-looking tapering hollow vessels named *bj*: that are figured in scenes of bread making and brewing in Egyptian tombs of the Middle Kingdom.¹ The bread is probably moulded and baked in them, malt for beer being the result in some cases and, perhaps, choice 'white loaves,' *ta-hej*, in others. Incense was also made up in 'white loaves,' i.e., in the shape of a slender sugar loaf. One might further conjecture that the conical pots, being sometimes found in graves, are connected with the puzzling 'funerary cones' of the Theban necropolis.

VI. THE NEW KINGDOM AT FARAS

If the main channel of the river at Faras had in earlier times run along the edge of the western desert, there can be no doubt that by the beginning of the New Kingdom the eastern channel already held the chief place. The Egyptian temples of the time were all built on or near its bank. The temple at the Hathor rock must have existed at least as early as the very beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty and was rebuilt or added to by the celebrated Queen Hatshepsut. Its axis lay from north to south with the approach from the north, perhaps towards the chief settlement of the city, but not to the river quay. It seems probable that this temple was the principal fane of the Hathor of Abeshek, and in consequence Abeshek may be the ancient name of Faras.

At the central site (on the river bank within the Enclosure built later by the Meroites), the earliest visible remains are loose blocks from a temple of Thutmosis III, built in honour of Horus of Buhon. Half a mile to the north of this, Huy, Viceroy of Nubia under Tutankhamun, built a considerable temple and fortified settlement fronting towards the river. As Tutankhamun was the first to revive the old religion after Akhenaton's heresy, he appropriately named the place *Sehtep-entêr*, 'Conciliation of the gods,' and a variety of deities, Ammon, Hathor, and Isis, were worshipped in the temple, but the principal god seems to have been Tutankhamun himself. Haremhab also put his name upon his predecessor's temple. Setau, Viceroy of Ramesses II, is commemorated

1. In *El Bersheh* I, Pl. XXV, the pots are made on a tiny wheel (?), in *Beni-Hasan* I, Pl. XII and II, Pl. VI, they are being burnt or taken from the kiln and filled with dough: cf. the tomb of Dega in Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, Pl. XXXVIII, and a better preserved scene in his *Tomb of Antefoker*, Pls. XI-XII, with XIb, XIIa. In the Old Kingdom the *bj*-pot was much wider mouthed, Steindorff, *Grab des Ti*, Pls. 85, 86.

by a small grotto cut in the rock of Hathor ; and Ramesses II must either have added to the Temple of Hathor or have built another temple in this direction, for the nearest corner tower of the great Enclosure wall contains several inscribed blocks of his work. The three temples, that of Hathor, and those built by Thutmosis III and Tutankhamun may have continued in some sort of religious use until the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (when all traces of Egyptian civilisation in Nubia ceased), but there is practically nothing left in any of them to bear witness of it.

Four rock-cut tombs in the terraces of the western desert, though uninscribed, evidently date from the New Kingdom, but we found no other burial places of this period.

Lower Nubia contained three large districts of which the capitals were Bak (Dakkeh), Mi'am (Anibeh), and Buhon (near Halfa); it is evident that Faras belonged to the third of these, for its chief temple was dedicated to the Horus of Buhon and his cotemplar goddesses.

The Hathor Temple and Grotto.

Behind Kolasūča, south of the Meroitic Enclosure, an isolated rock, known with the ruins upon it as Nabindiffi 'Tower of Gold,' rises out of the sand and alluvium (Pl. XVII b, c). It very naturally attracted attention at an early period. In the south-east face towards the river is a small grotto (marked 'Tomb' in the map on Pl. I) with sculptures of Setau the Viceroy of Ramesses II; its inscription mentions Hathor of Abeshek, and on the north side of the rock we discovered and cleared the foundations of the temple of this goddess.

Mr. Woolley's plan (Pl. XXIII) shows the disposition of the walls and foundations, distinguishing the two main periods of construction so far as he could ascertain them. The axis of the temple was to the N.E., parallel to the present river course. Two parallel walls, A, must have been for an ascending approach or ramp.¹ It passed several cross walls, where there may have been doorways and courts in the original construction, and finally reaches the N.E. wall of the main temple building G, which nearly coincides with the face of the rock on this side. The rock behind is almost all bare, but has been cut about in a remarkable way: several flights of steps are cut in it, and the top may perhaps have been used for sacrifice. On the right of the ramp is a small chamber F,

1. Compare the ramps of the great temples built by Menthotp and Hatshepsut at Dêr el Bahri.

in which stands a rectangular base like those for sacred barks, 80 cm. high, 80 cm. long, and 65 cm. broad, with the usual beading and cavetto cornice at the top, but uninscribed. Hereabouts were found several blocks sculptured and inscribed (See Pl. XXIV.) :—

(1) Limestone door-lintel with remains of two lines of inscription of goodwill of a goddess (i.e., Hathor of Abeshek) to a queen (i.e., Hatshepsut). 'She maketh for her life, stability and longevity (?) that her heart be joyful with her *ka* like Re' every day.'

Hatshepsut is not otherwise traceable amongst the scanty remains, but no other identification seems possible. She built the southern temple at Halfa, and her activity was great in many centres.

(2) Sandstone block showing in relief part of the reeded head-dress of Khnum (?) with disk, horizontal horns and side feathers:

(3) Sandstone fragment inscribed with large characters from a vertical column of writing. They strongly suggest the word for 'restoration' of a building, but might refer to the 'slaying' of enemies in the titles or glorification of a king.

(4) Sandstone door-jamb; the inscription faint, having perhaps been cut through plaster—'Beloved of Hathor, Lady of Abeshek.'

In this upper part and on the west practically nothing else was found. The N.E. slope, on the other hand, was composed chiefly of temple rubbish: only the space between the ramp walls was filled with clean sand; the rest, especially about the chamber B at a slight depth, abounded in potsherds and remains of bowls of glazed ware, beads, scarabs, etc. etc. Unfortunately the figures and other larger objects were broken up into small fragments, and it was seldom that any two pieces could be fitted together. The finds included the following inscriptions (Pl. XXIV).

(5) Piece of a limestone stela naming one of the Amenhotp kings whose distinctive pre-nomen is lost. The absence of additions to the name is in favour of an attribution to Amenhotp I, and this is confirmed by the general age of the finds in the rubbish; it is dedicated by some high official, who is described as 'a watchful overseer' whom the king 'had promoted' and who 'satisfied the heart' of his master; unhappily his name, too, is broken away. This is well engraved, and the hieroglyphs, though small, have been filled with different colours.

(6) Piece of another limestone stela with a prayer to 'Hathor, Lady of Abeshek and Horus ? [of] Khakere'-beloved-of-Mont ?' on behalf of a person named [P ?]-ko 'the bull,' whose titles, unfortunately, are lost

as well as the continuation of the inscription in which he seems to have given some biographical information ' . . . I live possessing cattle . . . ' Khakere' is an erratic form of the name of Sesostriis III, not likely to be used in contemporary inscriptions. The stela cannot be later than the very beginning of Dyn. XVIII, and may be considerably earlier. Mont is the god figured on the great stela of the eighth year of Sesostriis I from Buhon, and 'Horus of Khakere' beloved of Mont' is, no doubt, the god presiding over a fortress of Sesostriis III.

(7) Fragment of the rectangular base for a statuette, of glazed ware, inscribed in two lines.

(8) Piece of a bowl of limestone with a large lotus flower sculptured outside; inside, two female figures, one of them named Tai, and a stand of wine-jars.

(9) (10) Pieces of the rim of a large sandstone bowl, the inscription below the rim naming the 'chief lady of the harim? of Khepru-neb-re' (i.e., Tutankhamun) in Sehtep-entêr, Ta [-m-wajsi?]. See below, p. 93.

About two hundred engraved scarabs and scaraboids were found. The most interesting, including all those with royal names, are shown in Pl. XVIII. The names range from Swajenre' (in fayence), and Kamosi of the Seventeenth Dynasty to Men-kheper-re' Thutmosis III (a few only), together with one of 'Ankhes-(en)-amun the queen of Tutankhamun.

Of uninscribed objects there was a great variety (See Pls. XIX, XX, a, for a selection):—

Stone. Serpentine head from a statuette, another of limestone, kohlpot of alabaster, kohlpot cover of steatite, etc., and many beads of different materials.

Glazed pottery. Small and slender-moulded female figures (Hathor?) wearing a wig; a few human ears, ape, imitations of sewn-leather balls; fragments of decorated bowls in great abundance; beads, plain scarabs, pendants, etc., in profusion.

Blue paste. Fragment of vase, fragment of figure, etc.

Plain pottery. Abundant fragments of nude female figures or dolls with curious head-dresses, etc. (perhaps intended for Hathor), rude figures of cows and numerous vessels.

Gold. Pieces of thick foil, some stamped with a cow or a female figure in outline.

The chamber D produced in quick succession three of the earliest-looking scarabs (including Nos. 1 and 3 of Pl. 23), and it is probable that

it was the source of most of the earliest pieces; but this point was not observed till too late, when the digging had to be stopped. We could not bring ourselves to sacrifice the large and imposing block of brickwork, still remaining from the apse of the church (see Pl. XVII), when it threatened to fall on the men working at its base in chamber D.

All the New Kingdom objects found at this temple were purely Egyptian; unless the barbaric dolls are really Nubian, and when found in Egypt had been dedicated by the Nubian soldiers or their women-folk.¹

From all the remains we drew the conclusion that a temple, going back at least to the beginning of the New Kingdom, existed here; that probably the indefatigable Hatshepsut rebuilt it, using limestone brought from Egypt, and that Ramesses II probably added to it in sandstone. There is no trace of later occupation of the Hathor rock until Christian times.

On the east side of the rock facing towards the river is the small grotto cut in the reign of Ramesses II. (The entrance is visible in Pl. XVII, c; plan and all the inscriptions are on Pl. XXIV, 11-13.) The grotto resembles a small tomb, but we failed to find any pit. The floor has been cut away; the door was originally about 120 cm. high. In a niche about 80 cm. high in the back wall are the remains of a seated statue, utterly defaced. Inside the low chamber is a scene on the north wall which was copied by Bonomi and Lepsius in the first half of the last century.² Setau, with both hands raised in adoration, faces inwards; behind him stands a woman holding a papyrus stem and a sistrum in her right hand, her left raised in adoration. Before Setau is the royal name 'Son of the Sun Maiaum-Ramesses, beloved of Hathor Lady of Abeshok,' and his own dedication 'made by the royal son (of Cush), superintendent of the countries of the south, Setau, justified'; and behind the woman is 'His sister, lady of the house, musician of Ammon, Nefert-mut.' The last group *Muet* is now almost all broken away, but it is clear in the copies of Bonomi and Lepsius. Setau is the best known of the numerous viceroys

1. Precisely the same Hathor dolls occur at Dêr el Bahri, see *The XIXth Dynasty Temple at Dêr el-Bahari* III, Pl. XXIV, 3; XXXII, 8, 9. There is also a general resemblance between the smaller finds at these two Hathor shrines, as is pointed out by Hall, *ib.* p. 14; but so far as Professor Petrie recollects the Hathor temple at Serâbit el Khâdim in the Sinai peninsula did not produce any of the peculiar terra cotta dolls nor the ears of glazed ware which are common to her temples at Faras and Dêr el Bahri. The dolls occur also in graves of Dyn. XVIII or the Intermediate Period at Hu (*Diospolis Parva*, Pl. XXVI, pp. 50-53) and Abydos (Peet, *Abydos Cemeteries* II, Pl. XIV, 1-3, and p. 63).

2. Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, 2nd Series, Pl. 39, lines 22-24, L, D. Textb. V, p. 182.

of Nubia in the reign of Ramesses II;¹ the lady is called 'his sister' again on other monuments, but on one statue she is called 'his wife.'²

The rest is plain, except that on the south wall at the outer end, rather low down, is written 'the scribe of [divine offerings of all the gods of Wa]wa Mer-ap, son of the superintendent of the granary Pleehe.'³ If the grotto was, indeed, a tomb, this must have been the man to whom it belonged, although he took care mainly to celebrate in it his patrons who, in their turn, do homage to their king's cartouche; but it seems best to view it as a shrine with a statue of Hathor or of Ramesses II, executed by the order of the prince of Cush.

The temple at the Hathor rock is the only one known to have been dedicated to Hathor of Abeshek, and it may have been her chief shrine; if so, Abeshek must have been the early name of Faras or of the settlement on what is now the river bank. Hathor of Abeshek generally finds a place in Egyptian shrines and temples in this part of Lower Nubia. Thutmosis IV figured her as far north as Amada, Thutmosis III at Ellesiyeh and Ibrim.⁴ Though the shrines of Ay and Horemhab at Shatâwi and Gebel Adda apparently do not include her figure, Ramesses II admitted her to the great temple of Abusimbel, where the queen offers her a necklace, and she appears more conspicuously in the second or queen's temple. The Aksha temple of Ramesses II and the Buhon temples are so much wrecked that her absence from the fragments counts for little. South of the Second Cataract, e.g., in Soleb and Semneh, she is not found. The sculptures in the northern temples of Ramesses II at Bêt el-Welî, Gerf Husên, Wadi Sebu' and Dirr pass over Hathor of Abeshek; in the last two, however, a Hathor is figured as 'Mistress of Antet (the valleys).'

After this it is not surprising to find that the Ptolemaic and Roman temples of the Dodecaschoenus do not mention Hathor of Abeshek. The name Abeshek is not found in any other connection, unless in the name of a priest Si-Abeshek (*S:-bšk*) at Dôsheh,⁵ and is not traceable

1. No. 14 in Dr. Reisner's catalogue of the viceroys, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* VI, p. 41.

2. *Rec. de Trav.* XXII, 113.

3. A scrap of this copied by Lepsius, *L. D. Textb.* V, p. 182. Two graffiti of the same person are engraved on the rocks just north of the grotto of Horemhab (Harmais), near Gebel Adda, Weigall, *Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, p. 139; in one, he is entitled as above, in the other he is 'Superintendent of the granaries in the land ? of Horus Lord of Buhon.'

4. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Textb. V, pp. 100, 111, 113, 129.

5. *L. D. Textb.* V, p. 230.

in Meroitic or other late texts, unless Brugsch's old suggestion that Pliny's Abocciis¹ represents the name can be upheld.

Sesostris III, the organiser of Cush, as a deity has much the same history as Hathor of Abeshek, but with a wider range, being found in several temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Amada, Ellesiyeh, Shatâwi, Buhon, and above the Second Cataract at Dôsheh. He is notably absent from the shrines of Thutmosis III at Ibrîm, and of Horemhab at Adda, but on the other hand occurs in Ay's shrine at Shatâwi. After Dynasty XVIII he seems to have been entirely neglected.

A Temple of Ramesses II.

At the S.W. angle of the great Faras Enclosure, the nearest point to the Hathor temple, are a number of small sculptured and inscribed blocks of sandstones; some of them (of which Pl. XXV, Nos. 1-3, are the most intelligible) are built into the base of the ruined corner tower, while others (Nos. 4-6) were placed near it by Mr. Mileham. They are all evidently of Ramesses II, whose cartouches occur on four of them. Mr. Mileham assures me that the fragments that he found were amongst the blocks of Thutmosis III, and Dr. Gardiner seems to have copied No. 47 in the neighbourhood of the Thutmosis blocks, though this is not specifically stated. On the other hand we found no trace of Ramesses II at the Thutmosis temple, although we picked up a Ramessid flake inside the Enclosure between the S.W. corner and the south gateway. As there is no mixture of Thutmosid blocks with the Ramessid in the S.W. tower of the Enclosure, I, at any rate, think there must have been a separate Ramessid temple near here; unfortunately, nothing can be said as to its dedication, the only possible light being furnished by the block 1 upon which the small mummy figures represent the 'Spirits of Nekhen' evidently as part of some series of deities conferring blessings on the king. The alternating cartouches in 4, 5, show the simplest form of the royal prenomen, while 47 gave the full form.

The Temple of Thutmosis III.

At the west side of the citadel of Faras lie a number of blocks of sandstone, larger than are seen in non-Egyptian buildings in Nubia. We cleared a considerable space of blown sand down to the floor on to

1. *Nat. Hist.* VI. 181, perhaps to be corrected to Abocciis? for Aboshk; but there is no MS. support for either reading, see Mayhoff's Edition; the forms *Bocchin*, *Bônchis*, *Abonchis*, are the authoritative types in Pliny, Steph. Byz. and Ptolemy. The place referred to, moreover, probably lay far south of Faras.

which the blocks had been tumbled by the sebakh-diggers of a past generation when digging away the nitrous earth from underneath them. We thus disclosed some rubble foundation walls as well as a considerable number of the blocks themselves, which we turned over one by one. Meroitic and Christian remains were found alongside the Egyptian ones, but the last (see Pl. XXV, 7-46) were nearly uniformly of Thuthmosis III.¹ Our finds are supplemented by Dr. Gardiner's copies of nine blocks made the year before, which he has most kindly placed at our disposal; of these no less than three, nos. 38, 45 and 47 had disappeared in the interval. Amongst the remains are fragments of temple scenes, 7, the ceremonial dance, 8, the gift of milk to the hawk god, and several occurrences of the name of Horus of Buhon with or without the king's name 9-14; there are also many fragments of architraves, etc., with enormous hieroglyphs (Dr. Gardiner notes that the disk in 23 is 13 cm. = 5 inches, in diameter; no. 11 is on a much smaller scale). The architrave inscriptions running from left to right comprise a dedication to Horus of Buhon of a 'temple of [excellent] workmanship,' that from right to left a dedication to 'Anukis' (39). The name of the goddess Satis seems recognisable in 34 and 35, and 'the mistress of Southern Yeb' is in 37-38.² The cartouches and other names of Thutmosis III occur frequently; only one cartouche (36) ending with *nb* must have been of a different king, possibly Tutankhamun. There are also fragments of cornice and of ceiling painted with yellow stars on blue ground. Such are the sorry remnants of what must have once been a fine temple.

Yeb was the Egyptian name of Elephantine at the First Cataract where Chnum of Yeb had for his associates Satis (of Senemt, etc.), and Anukis (of Setet, etc.); at Buhon, which corresponded to Yeb at the Second Cataract, the Thutmosids worshipped the triad of Horus of Buhon with Satis and Anukis of 'Southern Yeb' in the temple built by Hatshepsut.³ This then was evidently the triad of the temple of Thutmosis III at Faras, which lay in the Buhon province.

1. These remains were seen by the early travellers, e.g., Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, p. 16, Wilkinson and Howard Vyse. Lepsius states that in 1843 he saw three cartouches of Thutmosis III and one of Amenhotp II, I, D. Textb. V, p. 181.

2. Lepsius, p. 181, copied a block of which our 37 is a fragment: it shows the *t* below *nb* and the town sign between the tails of *ab* and *w*; the two blocks were of equal size, 38 superposed on the completed 37, but placed a little to the right to break the joint as usual. Another block in Lepsius' shows the hawk of the King exchanging wine for life with the hawk of Horus of Buhon.

3. *Buhen*, pp. 54-73.

The temple of Tutankhamun.

In excavating the great Meroitic cemetery to the north of the walled town, we found numerous blocks of sandstone with Egyptian sculpture, some being inscribed with the name of Tutankhamun, together with drums of columns, etc. These stones had been used for blocking the entrances to cave graves, for making rude altars, and for other like purposes in the cemetery. At length we began to find rows of stones in line and composite bases of columns still in place, and we realised that we were on the site of a considerable temple which had been utterly destroyed for its material. At the end of the first season Mr. Drummond kindly made a plan of as much as was visible, and at the beginning of the next season Mr. Woolley completed the clearance, recognised the former existence of brick buildings parallel to the temple in a large enclosure that could be traced against its N. side, and made important additions to the plan. (See the view Pl. XVII a and plan Pl. XXVI).

The temple itself covered an area 56 metres long from back to front and 25 metres broad, and consisted of a colonnaded court, a hypostyle hall, and a sanctuary. It faced towards the river, and may have been approached through pylons, etc.; but of such there is no visible trace, and it is only here and there that even the foundation of the temple itself can be definitely seen, while the only scrap of sculpture in position is the reeding of the extreme lower end of one papyrus column in the hypostyle hall standing upon its circular base (Pl. XX b). The site of the temple is riddled with graves of the Meroitic period, besides one or two belonging to the Christian time.

The sculptured blocks from the temple scattered in the Meroitic cemetery show repeatedly the two cartouches of Tutankhamun. They form two series. The one series consists of thick blocks of moderate size with the figures and inscriptions in relief, and no doubt are from the interior walls; the decoration is on one face only. Examples are shown in Pl. XXVII, 1-13, including Tutankhamun's cartouches and fragmentary remains of his other names (1-7).¹ No complete portrait of Tutankhamun was found.

There is one example (11) of the cartouche of Haremhab, one very doubtful fragment (10) of the same roughly engraved, perhaps over an erasure, and one fragmentary and doubtful remnant (12) which has a

1. See Gauthier, *Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte* X, p. 202; cf. Daressy, *ib.* XI, 273, Gauthier *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte* II, 387.

strange resemblance to an Ethiopian or a Meroitic cartouche in the orthography, though it must be admitted that the accompanying sculpture is not unlike that of Tutankhamun. Ceremonial scenes were represented in this series, 13 belonging to a royal procession and 15 to the founding of the temple.

The second series consisted in the main of much larger but rather thin slabs with sculptures in sunk relief and engraved inscriptions. Immediately above the sculpture projected a plain rectangular cornice. This cornice is well preserved in the slab shown on XXI b, but is there so much foreshortened as to hide the projection; in Pl. XXVII, 1, and Pl. XXVIII, 17, it has been irregularly broken away. These slabs would seem to be from an exterior wall, and probably belonged to a low screen such as may have run along the front of the colonnade. The subject of the sculptures is the adoration of Tutankhamun's cartouches by the viceroy of Nubia. It is best seen in the unfinished sculpture (Pl. XXVIII, 1), where 'the king's son of Cush the superintendent of the southern lands, Huy',¹ stands holding a fan in his right hand and a crook and scarf in his left before the two cartouches of the king, each of which is placed on the sign of gold and crowned with disc and feathers. The fragments 16 and 18 also preserve the name of the viceroy, but in XXI b and XXVII, 17, the name and the figure have been cruelly erased, though sufficient traces remain in the latter to prove that it had also been Huy. We may here draw attention to the peculiar arrangement of the inscriptions in XXVII, 19, which must have once enclosed figures drawn ready for the sculptor but left by him to perish. It is another sign of unfinished work to add to XXVIII, 1. The narrow slab XXVII, 18 probably formed the jamb of a door in the same screen wall. On XXI b the viceroy is 'the royal son of Cush, superintendent of the southern lands, bearer of the fan on the king's right hand, great favourite of the good god, superintendent of the gold-land of Ammon'; on Pl. XXVII, 17, in addition to this he is 'superintendent of the cattle of [Ammon] in this land of Cush, champion of his Majesty in chariotry, the royal scribe,' and in one instance (*ib.* 18) he is called 'superintendent of the gold lands of the Lord of the two lands.'

In XXVIII, 1, is the rather remarkable statement accompanying the figure of Huy that 'his sister whom he loves is the perpetuator of his

1. Huy is No. 8 of the viceroys in Reisner's valuable article in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* VI, p. 35.

name, the chief of the harim(?) of Khepru-neb-re', Ta-m(?)-wajsi.' It would seem, therefore, that it was due to her that the viceroy was so prominently commemorated in the sculptures on this temple wall. Her figure evidently followed Huy's on the slab XXI b. From the bowl which she dedicated in the temple of Hathor (Pl. XXIV, 9, 10) we learn that Ta-m(?)-wajsi was 'chief of the harim(?) of Khepru-neb-re' (i.e. Tutankhamun) in Sehtep-entêr,' which, as we shall see directly, was the designation of this settlement at Faras. Unfortunately her name is not quite clear; it appears not to occur in the celebrated but much injured tomb of Huy at Thebes,¹ and whether she was Huy's wife as well as his sister cannot at present be ascertained. Why it was that Huy's figure was erased in some cases and not in others it is difficult to say; but perhaps some of the slabs were hidden by further building or thrown down before disaster came to him. There is no sign that Tutankhamun's name was attacked and the occurrence of Horemhab's name proves that the temple was continued in use after his death.

As to the dedication of the temple, in Pl. XXVII, 4, Tutankhamun is 'beloved of Amenra-so[uthér]' (the Theban 'Ameur' king of the gods') but in 8 he is 'beloved of Khepru-neb-re' in Sehtep-[entêr]. Khepru-neb-re' is the king's own prenomen, and this shows that Huy made the king himself a deity in the temple and fortress which he built for him in Nubia. Sehtep-entêr, 'Pacification of the gods,' is an appropriate name which Tutankhamun sometimes adopted into his own titles as the restorer of the old worship after he had abandoned the monotheistic heresy of his father-in-law Akhenaton. As a place name it can be recognised also on the blocks 9 and 11. Several officials of this locality are recorded in the tomb of Huy, namely: 'Paue, the wakil of the fortress of Khepru-neb-re' called Sehtep-entêr'; 'Huy, the *hat'-e* (or "Mayor") of Sehtep-entêr and his brother Mer-mosi, prophet(?) of Khepru-neb-re' of the fortress Sehtep-entêr,' with a 'priest of Khepru-neb-re' in the fortress Sehtep-entêr.'² It is clear then that the king was the principal divinity of the temple, and when we have Huy's sister entitled 'the chief of the harim(?) of Khepru-neb-re' in Sehtep-entêr,' the divine 'harim' (if that is the correct translation of the word) must be understood.

Other gods, too, were worshipped in this temple; there is a prayer for

1. No. 40 in Gardiner and Weigall's *Catalogue of Private Tombs in the Theban Necropolis*; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* III, 115-118.

2. See Professor Erman's copies in Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, pp. 1137-1138.

Huy to 'Isis the great, the mother of a god,' Pl. XXVII, 16, and another to 'Hathor in *Sehtep-entêr*' (19); and a small limestone stela (Pl. XXI a, Pl. XXVIII, 2) was found in the area of the temple itself, with an adoration of 'Ptah Lord of heaven, of beautiful countenance,' of Hathor as 'Great Sorceress?' and of Anukis, apparently by a man named Hat-ay (the inscriptions are obscure and probably blundered).

The mutilated torso of a sandstone statue (Pl. XXII c), preserving some distinct traces of the Akhenaton style, which was found with fragments from the temple blocking the entrance of the Meroitic cave grave No. 153, evidently represented the viceroy somewhat below life size, standing holding the crook (?) in the right hand and the fan (?) upright in the left.

'The brick buildings or 'priests' houses' on the north side of the temple may have been contained in a rather thick rectangular brick wall, which on the south side was backed against the stone wall of the temple and immediately overlay the chips left by the stonemasons; it was therefore built directly after the temple. This wall, indistinguishable on the W. side, appeared to have been 400 cm. thick on the N. side. In one part it may have been faced with rough slabs of sandstone, the interstices filled with mud; some small chambers were recognisable, but everything was much cut to pieces by Meroitic graves and confused by their brickwork; in no place did the walls remain above 50 cm. high. A pottery vessel of characteristic shape, a ring stand and two stone rubbers were found in the chambers, which appeared to be a mixture of store-chambers and living rooms.¹ A moderate number of fragments of green glaze, alabaster, carnelian, etc., of the period lay scattered among the rubbish of the Meroitic graves for some distance around the temple. Among them was a conical clay sealing of 'Nibma're' (Amenhotp III) owner of a *sed*-festival' (Pl. XXVIII, 3). For the conical pot shown in Pl. XXVI see above, p. 82.

Other finds relating to the New Kingdom :—

New Empire graves at Faras are represented only by the small group of grottoes at the outer corner of a ravine in the western desert (see Pl. I) which has been known to travellers for nearly a century. One of them is interesting for its occupation by a Christian anchorite, but none of the

1. Mr. Woolley recognised in this brick annex to the temple a parallel with the buildings north of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen, *Buhen*, p. 105.

others are inscribed. We discovered and cleared a new one round the corner of the wadi, containing both New Kingdom and Meroitic remains. From north to south they are as follows :—

1. Cleared by us, a small chamber with very rough approach, looking N.E. into the wadi, axis about 60° ; it contained one pottery *ushabi* painted red with blue wig, name illegible, wooden kohl stick and red bowl of the New Kingdom, and at the entrance various pottery vessels and glass beads of Meroitic age.

The others are close together looking towards the Nile.

2. With levelled approach and façade looking to E. (100°), two successive chambers and pit in inner chamber; off the inner chamber at the side is another chamber with pit. The walls of the outer chamber are covered with Coptic inscriptions, etc.

3. A small horizontal shaft filled with blown sand, not cleared.

4. Tomb with levelled approach and façade, two chambers, and pit in inner chamber; over the entrance

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| VIDUA | H.P |
| LIONA 1826 ¹ | 1824. |

This faces S.E., axis about 120° .

One isolated find of the New Kingdom remains to be described. Hidden under a heap of stones and blown sand, at the edge of the western desert, on the north side of the 'Southern Church' and near the north-eastern corner of the 'Meroitic House,' lay the mutilated remnant of a granite group representing a king of the Eighteenth Dynasty seated between Ammon and some other deity (Pl. XXII d), the figures considerably less than life-size. On the back were the remains of sixteen lines of inscription (Pl. XXVIII, 4). Beginning and end of the inscription are entirely lost, and about a third seems to be missing from the right hand edge of the lines that are best preserved.

- 1, 2. we rejoice] greatly seeing thy beauties. We have caused [the foreign nations] to come [unto thee],
3. dread of thee is in their bellies, and they present unto thee of their own accord of [their] children.
4. [He the king, the image ?] of the Universal Lord, the Horus of gold who uplifts the crowns of his father Re, the king of Upper and of Lower Egypt, Ruler of Joy of Heart,
5. beloved of Ammon Lord of the Thrones of the two lands in Karnak, and of Mut the great, lady of Ashru,

1. For Count Vidua see the description of the Christian antiquities. Plans of 2 and 4, perhaps more correct than the above description, are given in Weston, *Journal of a Tour in the East* (1894), III, pp. 77, 78, made in February, 1846.

6. [of, and of] all [gods and] goddesses of Egypt, even as they grant to him might of victory over every land, the good ruler
7. Ammon, creating his beauties, protector of the Bull of his Mother, the *mestiu*¹
8. the gods, he is born entire each month; the good God, who brings
9. who slays the Syrians, hacks up Cush, organises Egypt, builds
10. [the temples of the gods and restores] their offerings which had been neglected; an object of praise is he to them
11. [and they have established him upon the throne of] Horus of the living; the Black land and the Red land are in his charge for ever, he is
12. Lord of the *urert* ? crown, possessor of valour, greatly feared in all lands, his beauties are upon the *serekh* ? his figure ? is the hawk, he is
13. his . . . is Re', his body, even as his father Re' ordained hundreds of thousands of years, millions
14. [of *sed*-festivals, and that all lands should be beneath] his sandals and that his hand should not be hindered in all the lands: the king of Upper and of Lower Egypt, son of the sun, who conciliates the gods in [their] places
15. all . . . [are glad] who see his beauties, they rejoice when they hear [his words]
16. [He hath built to the gods a temple] provided with serfs in the goodly method [of aforetime ?]
17. [He hath and renewed] their offerings

Of the distinctive titles of the king only one is preserved 'The Horus of Gold who uplifts the crowns of his father Re'; it recalls the corresponding title of Amenhotp IV before his heresy broke forth 'who uplifts the crowns in Upper-Egyptian On'; and it resembles that of Tutankhamun 'who uplifts crowns, who conciliates the gods' in a stela published by Legrain.² Evidently it belongs to one of

1. Translated Sprössling ('scion') by Sethe, *Urkunden* (deutsch), IV, 84, in the Tombos Stela.

2. *Rec. de Trav.* XXIX, 162. See Daressy, *Annales du Service* XI, 274 for the correct reading.

the Akhenaton group of kings, and since the features in the sculpture so far as they are preserved retain no reminiscence of the Akhenaton style, it is practically certain that we have here none other than Tutankhamun, the second king after Akhenaton ; if so we may suppose that Tutankhamun dropped the designation 'Conciliator of the gods' in his official title at Faras, which itself was known as 'Conciliation of the gods' and substituted the words 'of his father Re' in order to balance the deficiency.

The inscription speaks of the foreigners being caused to come in fear to the king, giving up their children to him as slaves, agreeing with a scene in the tomb of Huy.¹ The king is 'beloved of Ammon and Mut of Karnak and . . . and all the gods and goddesses of Egypt.' We may probably take it that this granite group represented Tutankhamun between Ammon and Mut (though Hathor would have been more appropriate at Faras) and that it was sent by the king from the Elephantine quarries or from the workshop at Thebes to be the central object in his Nubian temple. Afterwards it may have been carried off to the west side of Faras to adorn the Meroitic House or Palace, and in the end buried by the Christians or Muslims under stones as an object of execration.

VII. NOTES ON NEW KINGDOM REMAINS AT SERRA.

The district next to Faras southward on either bank is called Serra. On the west bank, about ten miles from the Faras citadel, is the hamlet of Aksheli, where there is a temple of Ramesses II dedicated to his own royal self, on a small site of rubbish in the midst of sand dunes. Gau gives a figure and plan of this as it was in 1819,² when the ruined sandstone walls formed the lower courses of a brick church. Lepsius, visiting it in December, 1843, copied inscriptions here.³ Captain Lyons cleared the temple, and in 1895, Professor Sayce copied the inscriptions and published some of them.⁴ In 1906, Professor Breasted, of Chicago, who photographed and copied the sculptures and inscriptions completely,⁵ found a fragment of one of the brick church walls still standing. Since then the temple

1. L. D. III 117, cf. Breasted, *Records*, II § 1035.

2. *Antiquités de la Nubie*, Pl. 63.

3. L. D. III, 191, Textb. V, 186.

4. *Rec. de Trav.* XVII, 163-164.

5. *Temples of Lower Nubia*, p. 16.

has suffered severely from *sebbākhn* and *saqyeh*-builders; the last trace of brickwork has gone, and many inscribed stones have been taken away, and this process of destruction seems still to continue at times, although, in 1908, Randall MacIver obtained the deposition of the 'omdeh for such misdeeds. There are some signs of burials in the desert behind the temple.

On the east bank, a little up stream from Aksheh, where a rocky slope reaches the river, is an early fortress-enclosure of crude brick with rock-cut ditch, whose ruined walls were repaired and occupied by the Christians;¹ the site with its churches is known by the Nubian name Serrēn-kissē, 'church of Serra.'

Mr. Mileham, in describing the fortress, accepted the suggestion of Dr. A. H. Gardiner that it dated from the Twelfth Dynasty, and we have no evidence to confirm or to oppose to this view. Inside it we found no remains earlier than Christian. A modern Shêkh's tomb, that of Shêkh Nûr (who produces light at night and is locally counted as a Friend of the Prophet) has been built on a large mound of rubbish thrown out from a tomb-pit, about 100 yards east of the S.E. corner of the ditch. Eight Middle to New Kingdom pits cut in the rock were noted at this spot, and most of them were cleared. They are oblong, 3·50 to 4·50 metres deep, with chambers at the bottom. All had been robbed.

Tomb 8 contained a clumsily-engraved stela of limestone,² with figures and inscriptions, the latter a prayer to Osiris of Busiris, with half legible names such as Ka-her-bau, Waj-mosi, Wesert, Nub-er-hat, dating from about Dynasty XVII; also a small plaster mask, 7 × 6 in., small black topped bowls (without the grey Kerma line), etc. Another contained a similar mask, green stone lid of a kohl-pot, etc. Twenty-three characteristic pieces of Eighteenth Dynasty pottery came from tomb 5; also a steatite kohl-pot, and the solid cover, with plain knob-like head, of a 'canopic' jar and two jar bodies, all of pottery; grave 7 yielded three pieces of Meroitic and two of New Kingdom pottery; grave 2 some late Meroitic pottery and beads; grave 6 a Christian lamp with some beads.

1. The fortress and its churches are described by Mileham, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, chap. VIII, with plan and good photographic views, Pls. 29-35. The Christian buildings overflow the fortress well and ditch at a point about the middle of the east side where there was perhaps a gate. See also Somers Clarke, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, p. 64.

2. Pl. XXIX. 1.

In a small ravine to the south of the fortress are one or two grotto tombs.

Guided by the reports of our boatman, Mr. Woolley came upon some late graves which he thought to be of Christian age at the village of East Serra. They were partly cave and recess graves, partly trenches with sloped roofs of stone slabs. Several of these slabs, still in place or lying in the village, bore sculptures or inscriptions of New Empire date and were secured by him; they are as follows:—

Pl. XXIX, 2. Portion of a stela, the upper part and right half ? lost. [May give all good things that heaven gives] earth [produces] and [Nile] brings, [and the drinking of water at the swirl] of the river, to the *ka* of the unique [favourite of the king ?] as his true servant, for he knew the excellence of his heart I planted it with many plantations life, the scribe of the south, beloved of his father, P-atsi. [He saith] ‘Oh every prophet, every priest, everyone skilled in speech (lit. ‘knowing his mouth’ or ‘his spell’) every server in the temple, as your gods praise you, as ye love the king’s *ka* and long life, so say ye ‘An offering which the king gives, Chnum, Lord of the Cataract, may he give [funerary offerings], all things good and pure, to the *ka* of the feast giver, lover of frankincense, partaker of [excellent] of tongue, successful in counsel, the scribe of the south Thuthotp, [begotten of the chief of Tehekht] Riu, born of the Lady of the House Rena, true of voice.’

Patsi in line 5 seems to be the native name of Thuthotp. He was evidently full brother of the scribe Amenemhe whose statues were found at Buhen,¹ and must have lived about the middle of Dyn. XVIII, probably in the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III. For Tehekht see fig. 4.

3. Sandstone door jamb. ‘An offering which the king gives consisting of fat things for his *ka*, unto the *ka* of the king’s son of Cush, superintendent of the southern countries.’

This might well be of Huy (above, p. 92) by the style.

4. Fragment found lying in the village. A figure in the costume of a sem-priest bending forward as offering or in reverence. ‘. . . . the [chief ? of Te-]hekhti, Thoout. Come thou ? forth into the presence of Thoth and praise the gods, by his name of Men-kheper-re’ the great god in

1. *Buhen*, p. 110. *i* not *s* is clear in the father’s name on the Serra stela. His title I have restored from the statue.

Tehekhti, the garland ? of Harakht, that he may favour thee, that he may love thee, that he may prolong thy life, that he may grant thee valour and victory over all the nations.'

For Thoout it is tempting to read Thuthotp, and to identify the person with that commemorated in No. 2. The next line suggests, though obscurely, that the deified Men-kheper-re', Thutmosis III, is here quaintly viewed as a form of the god Thoth, who is so conspicuous in the king's personal name. Anyhow, the fragment affords another striking instance of the common deification of the contemporary Pharaohs as great gods in the Nubian temples. Tehekhti is evidently the ancient name of Serra, and we may now assume that Thutmosis III was worshipped in its temple, perhaps in association with Thoth. His cartouche has been maliciously defaced, perhaps by the followers of Akhenaton, but is still quite recognisable. The context of the fragment being lost, it may be conjectured that Thuthotp (?) is addressing either the Nubian viceroy or perhaps even a Pharaoh, bidding him worship Thutmosis III with a view to success in war.

5, 6. On the two ends of a sandstone lintel (?) from a shrine or a tomb, see Pl. XXII a, b. At the top is a painted cavetto cornice, and below it a scene symmetrically arranged, showing two pairs of kneeling figures, a viceroy and a priest, facing towards the centre, the object of their adoration having been probably a pair of royal cartouches. The figure of the viceroy is preserved only on the left side. He wears wig, collar and sandals, and an exceedingly voluminous garment, and holds in his advanced hand the emblems of his office, the fan, ruler's crook and a sash. Before him was a columnar inscription of which only a minute fragment remains; it must have contained his titles, his name 'Wantewoi, triumphant,' being written over his head. The priest wears a garment only slightly less voluminous than the viceroy's, with sandals and collar, but his head is shaved; over him is written 'for the *ka* of the chief (?) prophet of Usima're' (i.e. Ramesses II ?) Har-nakht (?) triumphant, son of the notable (?) Pat-em-heb, triumphant. The style points to a period as late as Dynasty XX.

Wantewoi (Un-ta-uat) is a very rare name, and there can be no doubt that our fan-bearer is the 'first prophet of Ammon of Ramesses (?), king's son of Cush, Wantewoi,' who is commemorated on a stela in the British Museum together with 'his brother the first prophet of Ammon of Ramesses (?)' named Amenwahsu, and his sisters Isis and Sat-kheper(?)*-ka*

each of whom is entitled 'Musician of Ophois';¹ he is also 'king's son of Cush, chief controller of the stable of the palace(?) of His Majesty, Wantewoi' on a stela in the Cairo Museum from Semneh.² Dr. Reisner, in his valuable article on the viceroys of Ethiopia, places him conjecturally under Ramesses VI, VII, and VIII, as No. 19 in the list.³ I have nothing to add to what is said there as to his rare monuments, except that a copy of the hieratic graffito in the Abusimbel grotto is given by Miss Edwards in the first edition of her *Thousand Miles*, opposite p. 506. It reads 'the groom (*kjn*), superintendent of the stable (?) of the Court, the king's son of Cush, Wantewoi.' The evidence for his being son of Hori II thus becomes very slender, but Reisner seems right in placing him late in the Twentieth Dynasty. The priesthood of Usima're' held by Har-nakht, perhaps also that of Ammon of Ramesses (?) on the Cairo stela, must have been in connection with the temple at Aksheh.

1. Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques*, 1002, Maspero, *Momies royales*, p. 747; Wreszinski, *Die Hohenpriester des Amon*, § 70.

2. Lieblein, l.c., 2114. Should we read Serreh (Serra) for Semneh?

3. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VI, p. 50.

CONTENTS OF PLATES

Pl. IX. Plan of the excavated portion of the C-group cemetery. The bases of stelae are marked in solid black.

Plate X. C-group cemetery. *a*, broken stela in position, L. 300, W. 86 at top tapering to 50, thickness 15, the base in position apparently on line of the destroyed superstructure of grave 151 and cutting into the grave itself on N.W. Also from l. to r., superstructure of grave 132, pot and ring-stand from near 167, superstructure of 182 just appearing. The view is about N.E. by compass, showing the height of Wizz in the centre of the horizon, cut by the measuring pole. *b*, fallen stela complete, beneath stones, which remain only on the S.W., of ruined superstructure of 128 (see p. 73). The view shows Wizz on the extreme left and the range of distant hills on the east bank; it also gives an idea of the tamarisk mounds and bushes still living (see p. 2), in the old cultivation, seen from about 1500-2000 metres.

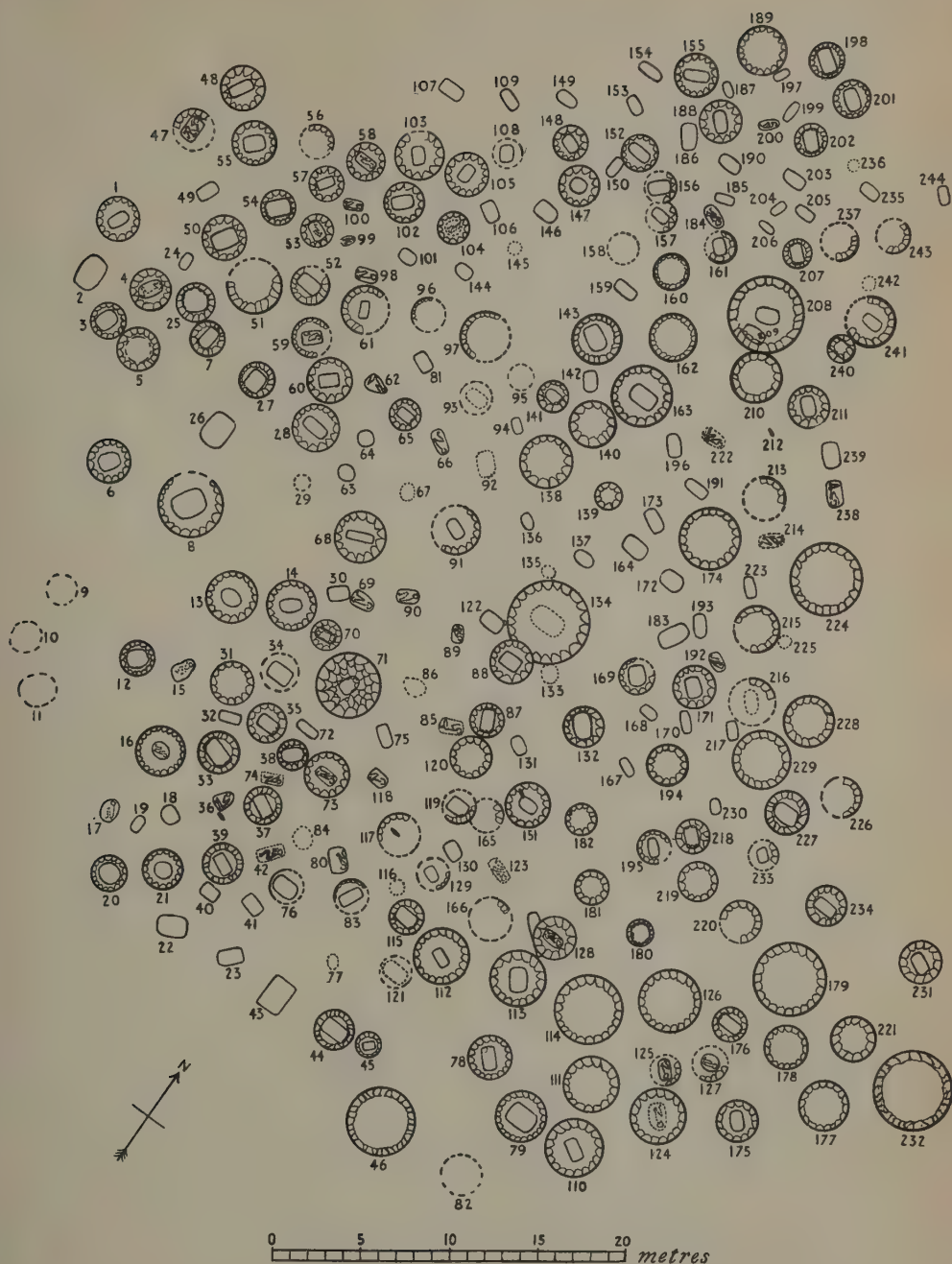
Pl. XI. Graves in C-group cemetery. 1, grave 162, D. 280, H. 60. Against superstructure from N.E. to S.E. four black topped bowls, IX a, b; black incised bowl (Pl. XII, 18); greenish wheel-made jar, type for I d, H. 26; Protodynastic jar, type for III c with pierced hole; and line of five bucrania. On S.W. side black topped pot, type for X e, and wheel-made greenish pot I f, engraved mark (Pl. XIV), H. 27, both pierced. The grave contained beads of carnelian and glaze and four shell rings on one finger bone, but the body was mostly destroyed. 2, grave 79, D. 300. Against N.E. side two black-

topped bowls, IX g and type for IX h; reddish hand-made pot, type for XI g; greenish wheel-made pot (as II c?) ill-shaped, H. 13; fragments of black incised bowl; and two bucrania laid overlapping with a piece of stone between. Grave 78 beyond, D. 260, with four bucrania overlapping and various pottery on N.E., small alabaster pot (Pl. XII, 14) on N.W. 3, grave 54 (its stone circle D. 200 was rather ruinous). The pit is oval, axis due N.E.-S.W., 140×90 , depth 140, containing the skeleton of a child contracted on the right side, head N. The photograph shows a silver 'ankh (Pl. XII, 8, Pl. XIV) hanging at the neck, remains of a leather and beadwork belt with a cross of diamonds (cf. Pl. XII, 1) round the waist and an alabaster jar (Pl. XII, 15). A small Nile-oyster shell (*Acetheria*) containing kohl also lay by the elbows.

Pl. XII. Objects from C-group cemetery. 1, beadwork on leather belt,¹ W. 6, blue ground-work, one piece showing a continuous double row of diamonds in six pairs (see Pl. XIII) two of which are seen here; another shows two similar pairs, connected together as here, forming a kind of isolated cross surrounded by the blue ground (shown in Pl. XI, 3). 2, blue glaze melon beads, half size, 211, 3. 3, flattened barrel bead of bone showing cellular structure inside, full size, grave 118, 7. 4, four shell rings on first finger, D. 2.4-2.7, grave 219, 7; similarly grave 162, 18. 5, shell armband narrowing to one side, half size, 178, 4. 6, mushroom-shaped stud of whitish frit, L. 1.2, grave 157, 4. 7, pierced slaty pebble, L. 4, grave 130, 4. 8, *Ankh*-amulet, the stem and loop cut out of plate in one piece, the cross-piece riveted on from back (see Pl. XIV), L. 6.6, grave 54, 3. 9, fragment of ostrich egg-shell with equidistant holes along a rounded edge (probably the holes are for the attachment of a spout or bottle neck), L. 5.1, grave 118, 5. 10, 11, granite piece head, D. 5.5, in sand by superstructure of grave 227. 12, shoe-shaped palette of hard schist, 33×16 , with pottery against N.E. side of 102. 13, thin oval armband of ivory, half size, grave 187. 14, alabaster pot, H. 7.5, grave 78, 4 (see Pl. XI, 2). 15, alabaster pot, H. 13.5, rim chipped, inside child's grave 54. 16, fragment of black mouthed bowl with punctured ornament, grave 46, sc. $\frac{3}{4}$. 17, fragment of black incised bowl, chain ornament below rim (see Pl. XIV); sides lightly marked out in squares of about 2 cm. by two series of thin lines at right angles following the curve of the vessel; in each square is a figure with two opposite sides curved (alternately the upright and the horizontal), the figure filled with irregular hatching; from gr. 23, sc. $\frac{3}{4}$. 18, black incised cup, network of two sets of parallel lines at right angles starting vertically from the edge and following the curve of the vessel; some or all of the intervening spaces lightly hatched, surface worn and polished by sand, dog-tooth on rim, H. 5.5, grave 162, 6. 19, fragment of dark brown incised cup, showing a kind of chain ornament (cf. 17) at the rim, and on the side part of a scroll outlined with incised lines on a hatched ground, much sand worn, grave 46, sc. $\frac{3}{4}$. 20, fragment of deeply ribbed hand-made vessel of coarse reddish clay containing pebbles and mica, pierced with small round hole for mending?, sc. $\frac{3}{4}$, grave 241, 2.

Pl. XIII. Pottery from C-group cemetery. 1, black mouthed, exterior not polished, slight dog-tooth impressions on mouth, seven groups of eight to twelve pimples laid on in double lines below mouth, H. 10, grave 1, 12. 2, black incised, H. 6, with remains of white filling, grave 160, 2. 3, black incised, network filled with hatched diamonds, H. 9, grave 216, 2. 4, black incised, original white filling, D. 8.5, grave 185, 4. 5, black-topped pot, slightly

1. A similar belt, Firth, *A.S.N. Report*, 1908-1909 II, Pl. 39d and Pl. 56.



THE C-GROUP CEMETERY, FARAS.
PLAN OF EXCAVATED PORTION.

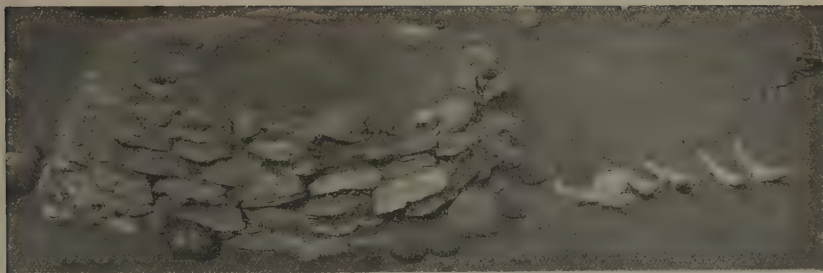


a

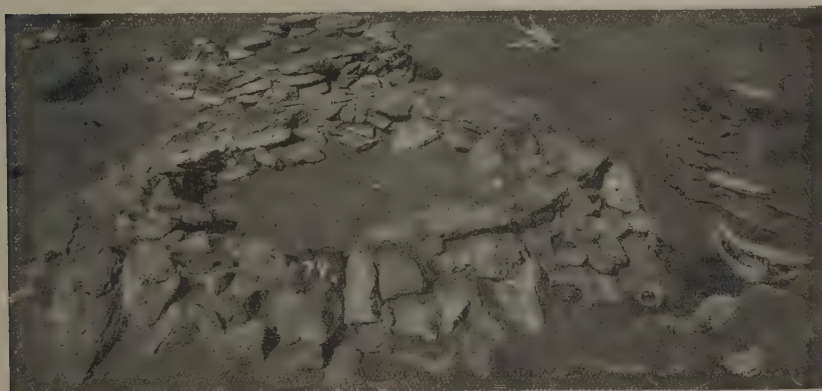


b

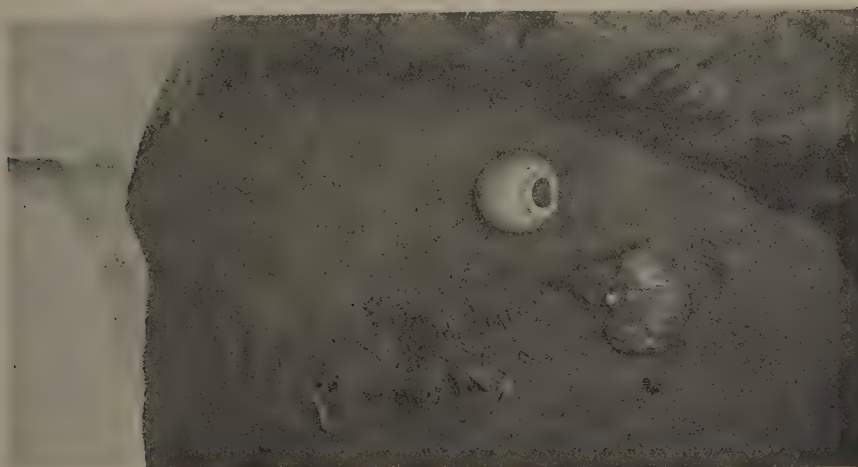
STELAE IN THE C-GROUP CEMETERY, FARAS



a



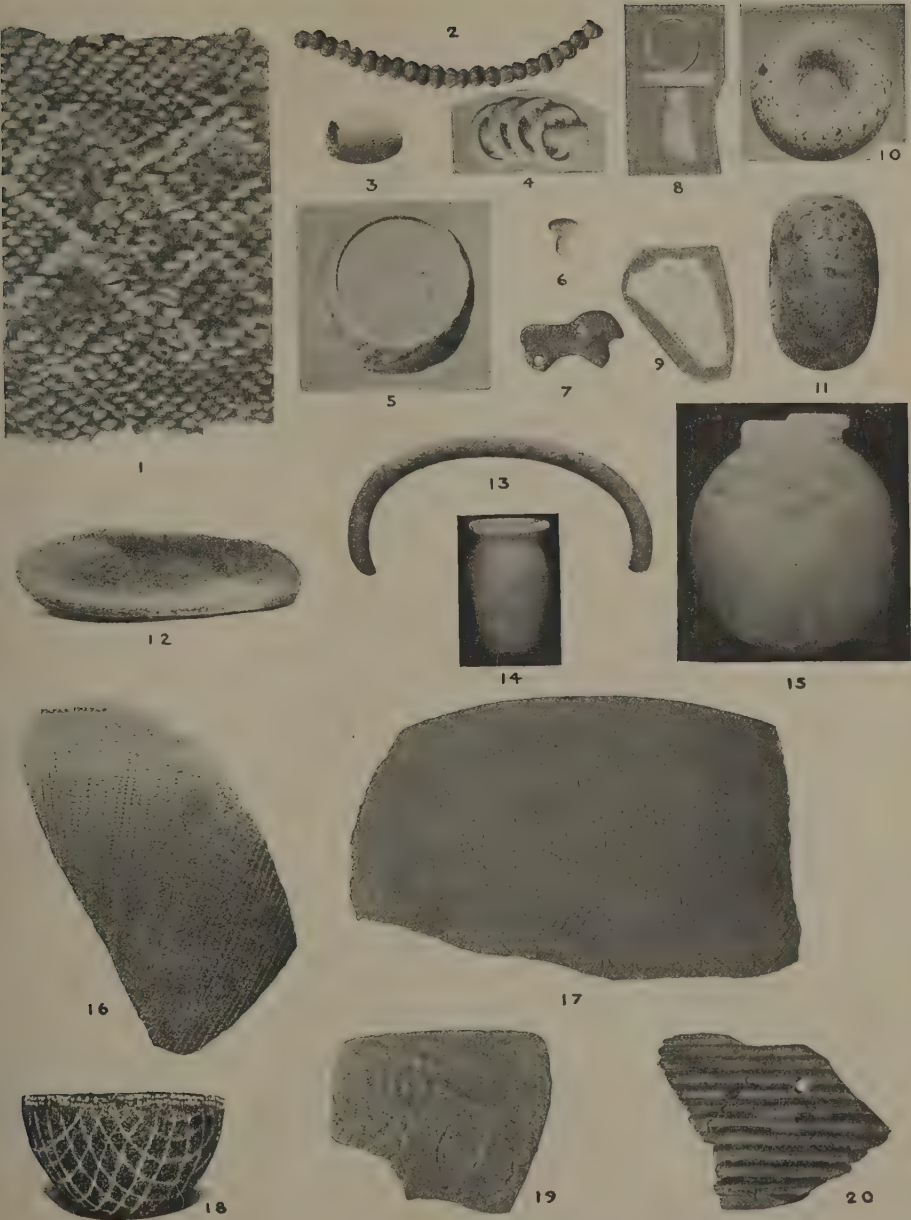
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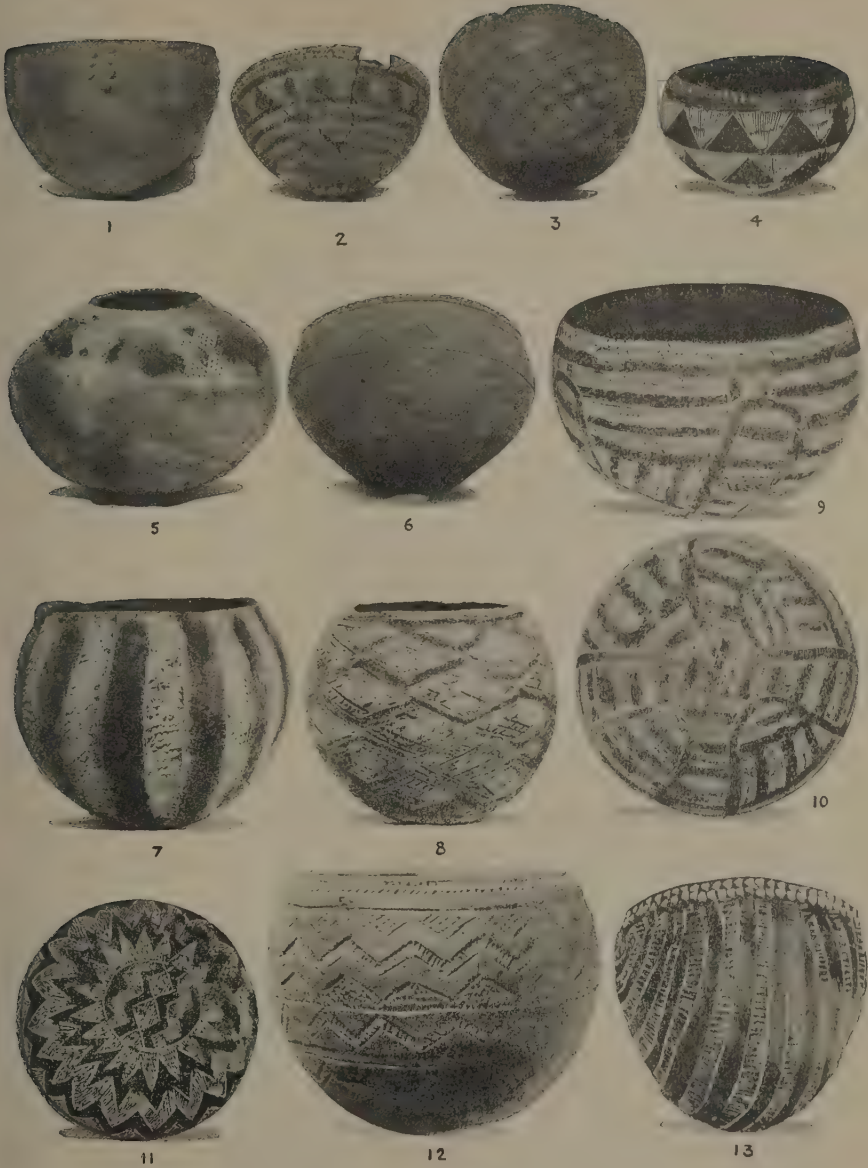
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THE C-GROUP CEMETERY, FARAS

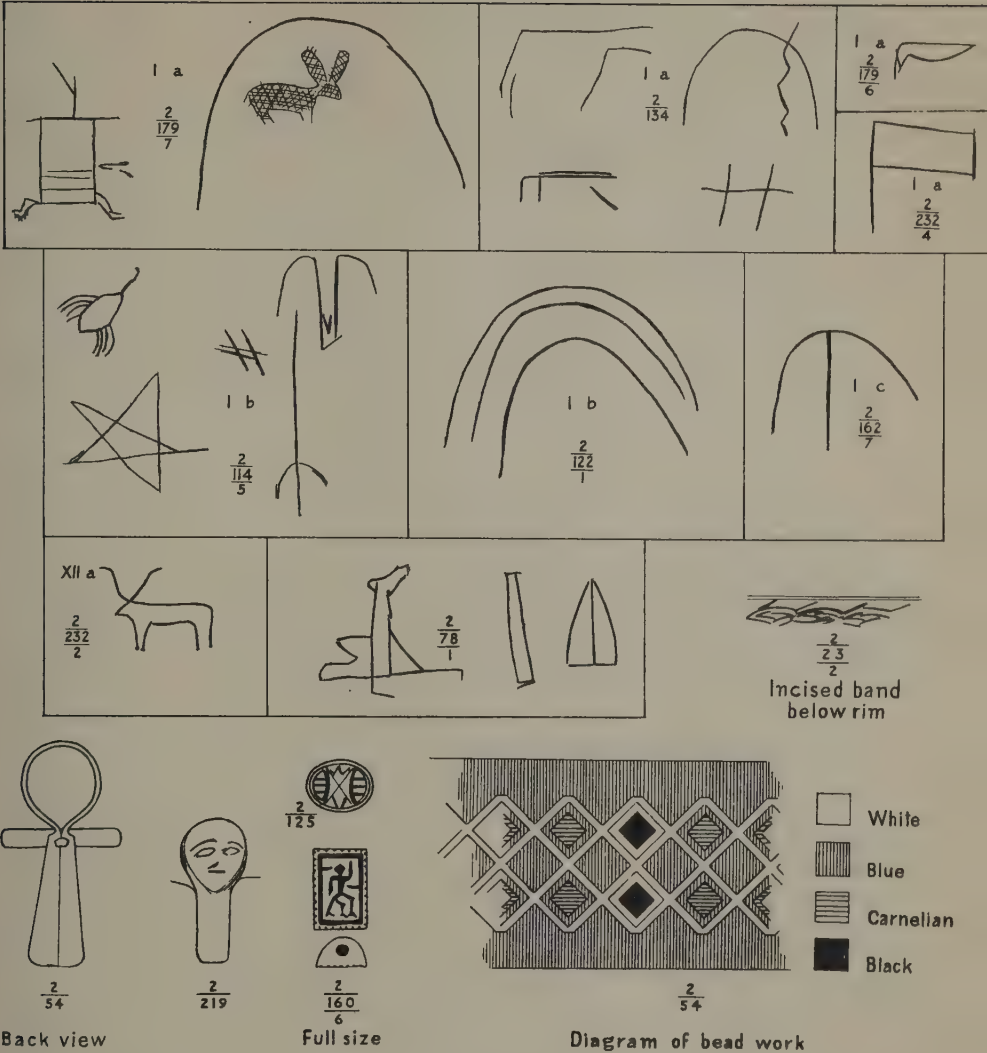
SUPERSTRUCTURES WITH BUCRANIA; GRAVE OF CHILD, No. 54.



OBJECTS FROM THE C-GROUP CEMETERY, FARAS. Various Scales.

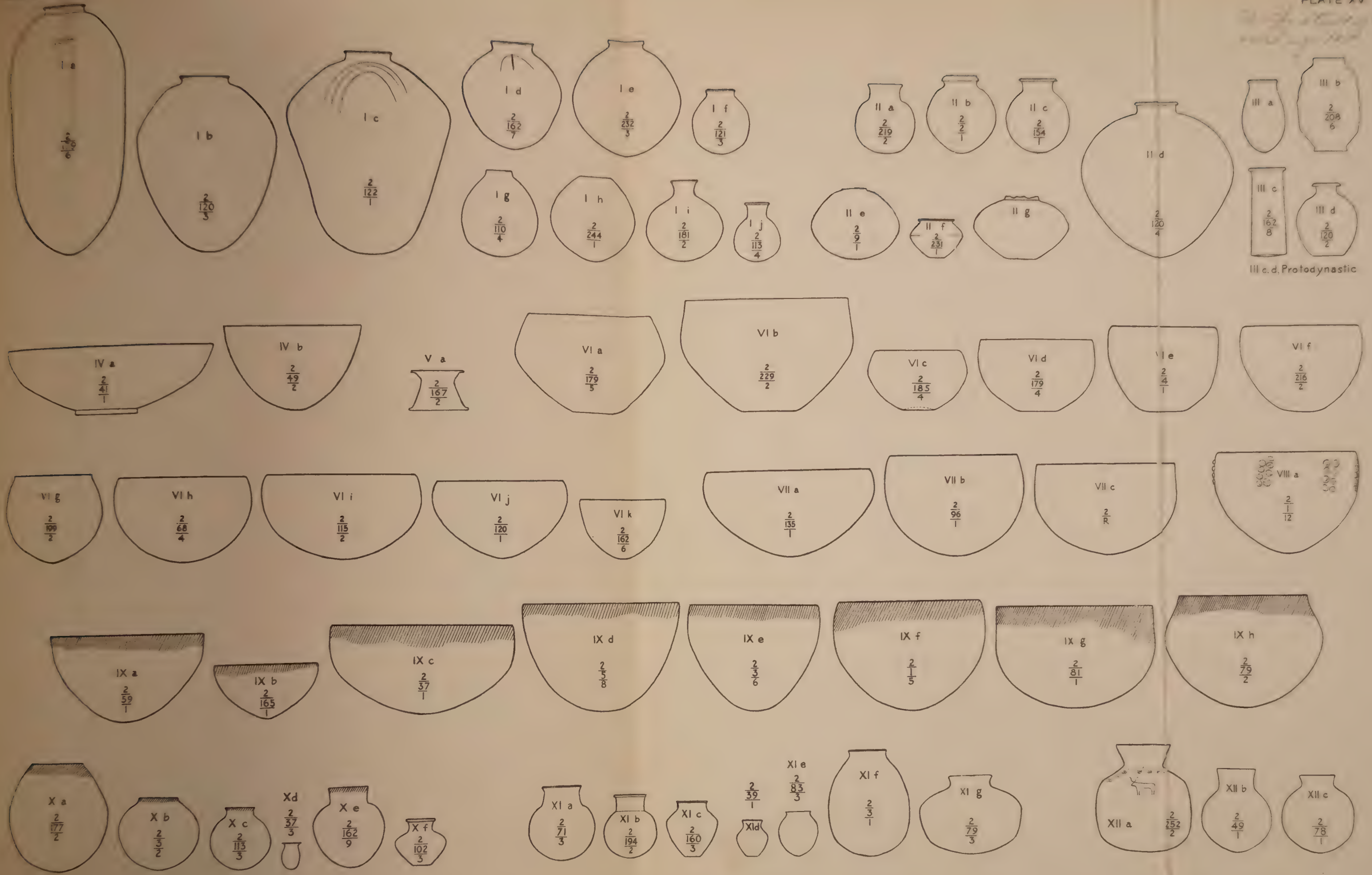


POTTERY FROM THE C-GROUP CEMETERY, FARAS. Various Scales.



THE C-GROUP CEMETERY, FARAS.

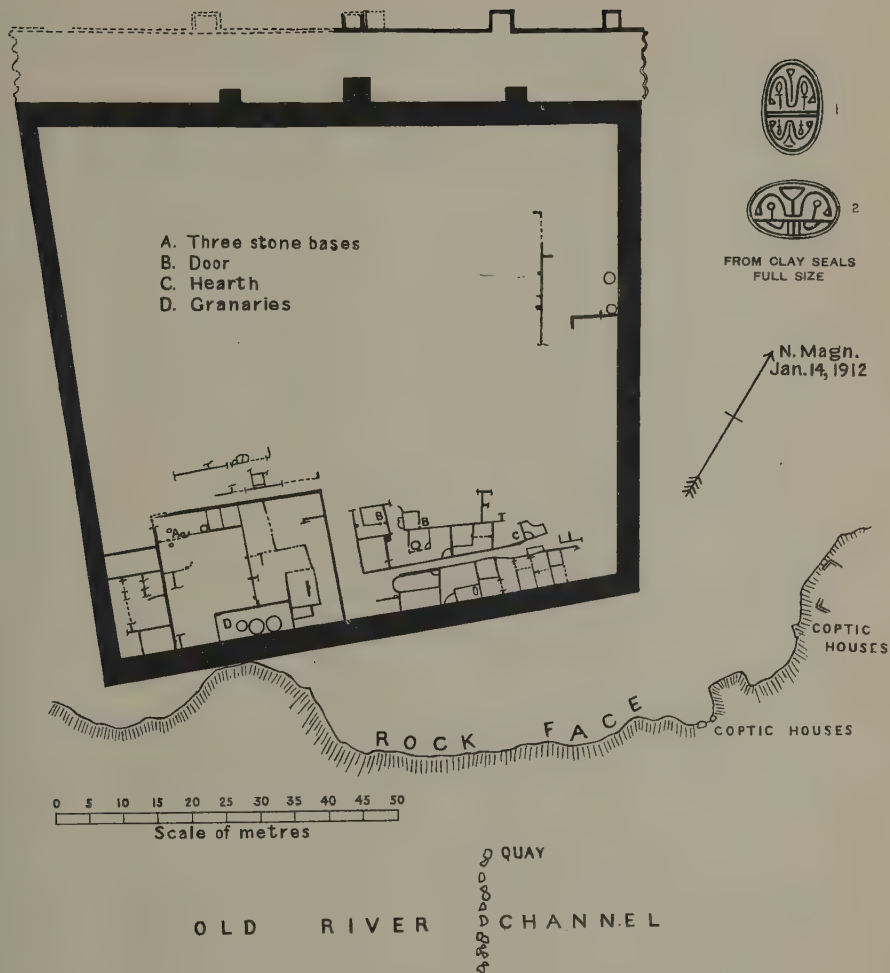
SCRATCHED AND IMPRESSED DESIGNS, SCARAB, SEAL AND VARIOUS DETAILS.



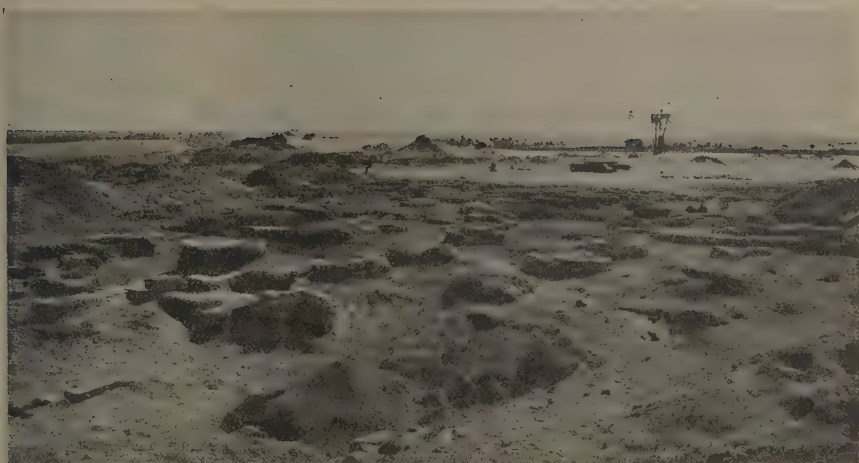
III c, d, Protodynastic

THE C-GROUP CEMETERY, FARAS.
TYPES OF POTTERY.

BOWLS IV, AND VI-IX SCALE 1:4
THE REST SCALE 1:10



THE MIDDLE KINGDOM FORT, FARAS.



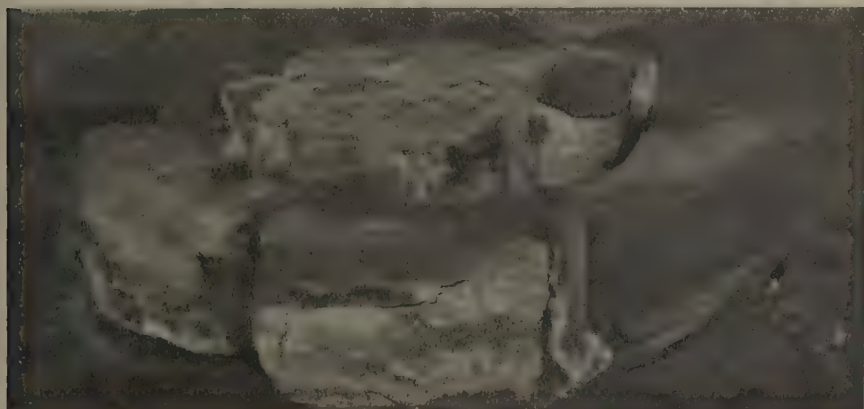
FARAS: TEMPLE OF TUTANKHAMUN; HATHOR ROCK.



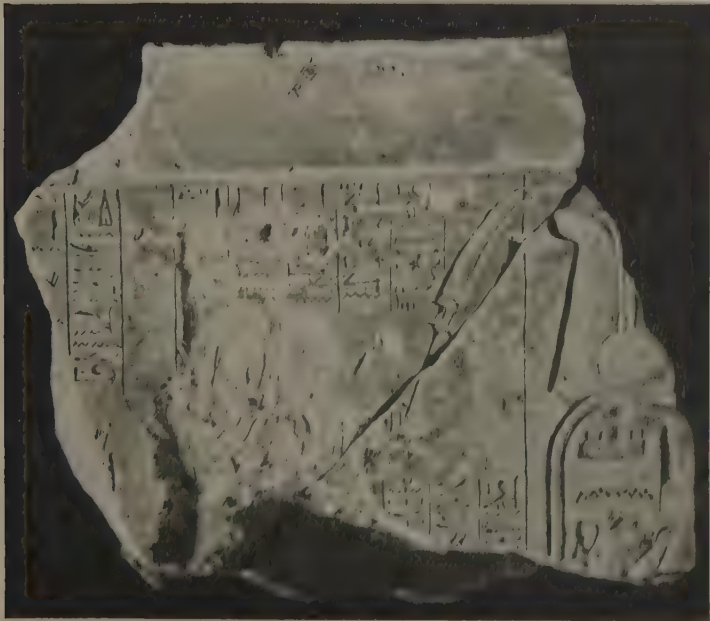
SCARABS, Etc., FROM THE HATHOR TEMPLE, FARAS.



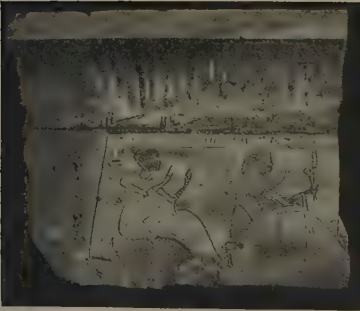
OBJECTS FROM THE HATHOR TEMPLE, FARAS.



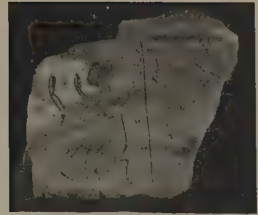
GLAZE FRAGMENTS FROM THE HATHOR TEMPLE.
BASE OF COLUMN, TEMPLE OF TUTANKHAMUN.



SCULPTURES FROM THE TEMPLE OF TUTANKHAMUN, FAKH.



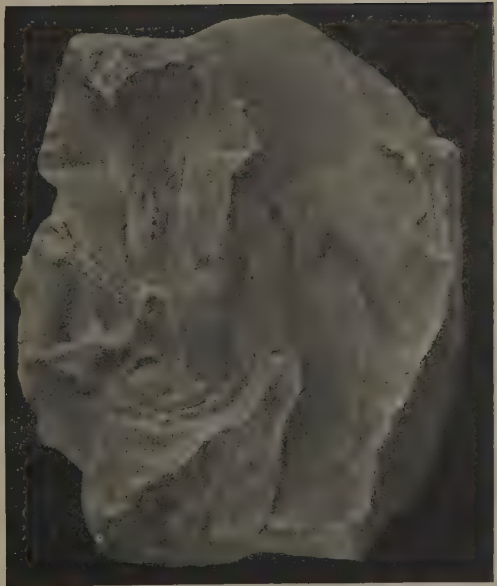
a



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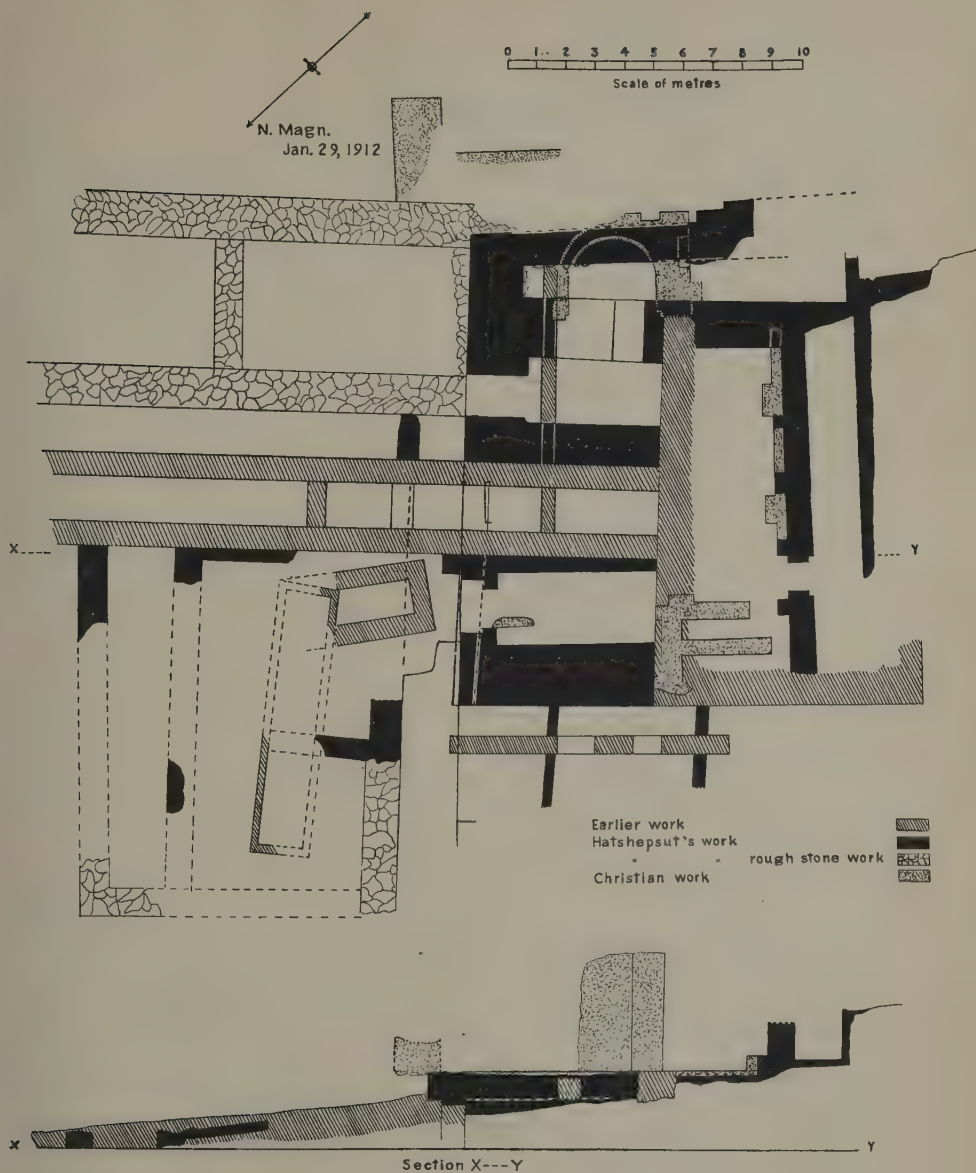


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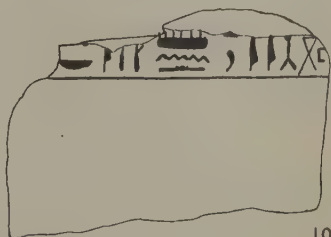
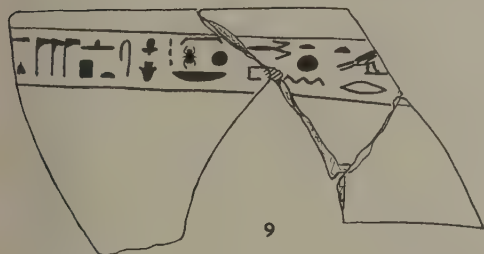
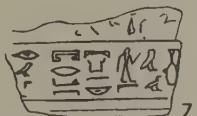
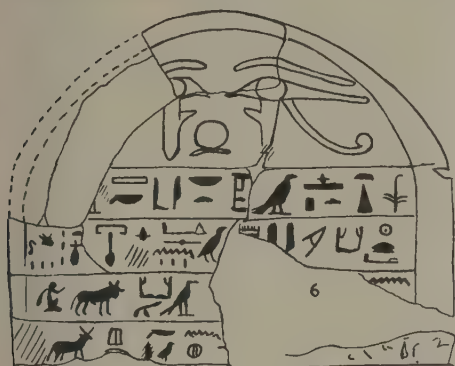
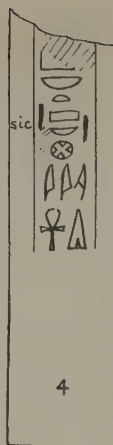


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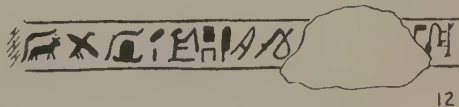
SCULPTURES FROM EAST SERRA AND FARAS.



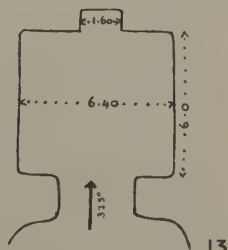
PLAN OF THE HATHOR TEMPLE, FARAS.

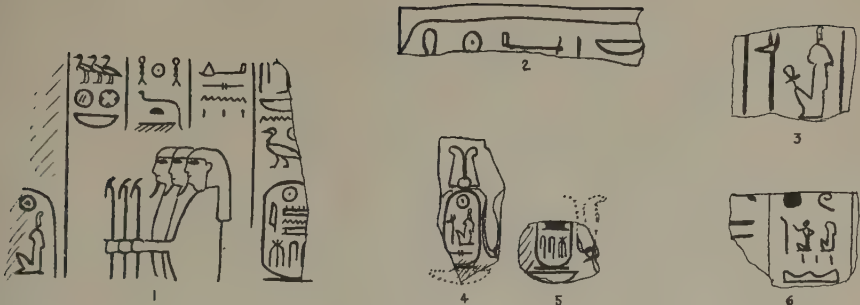


Temple

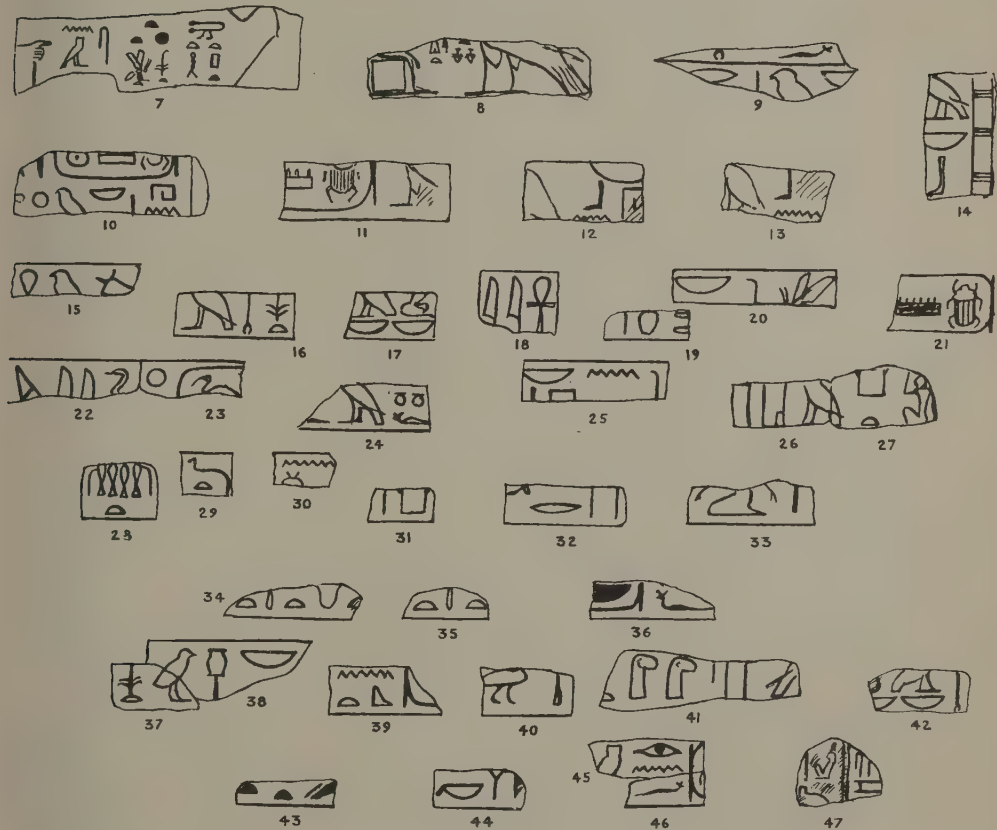


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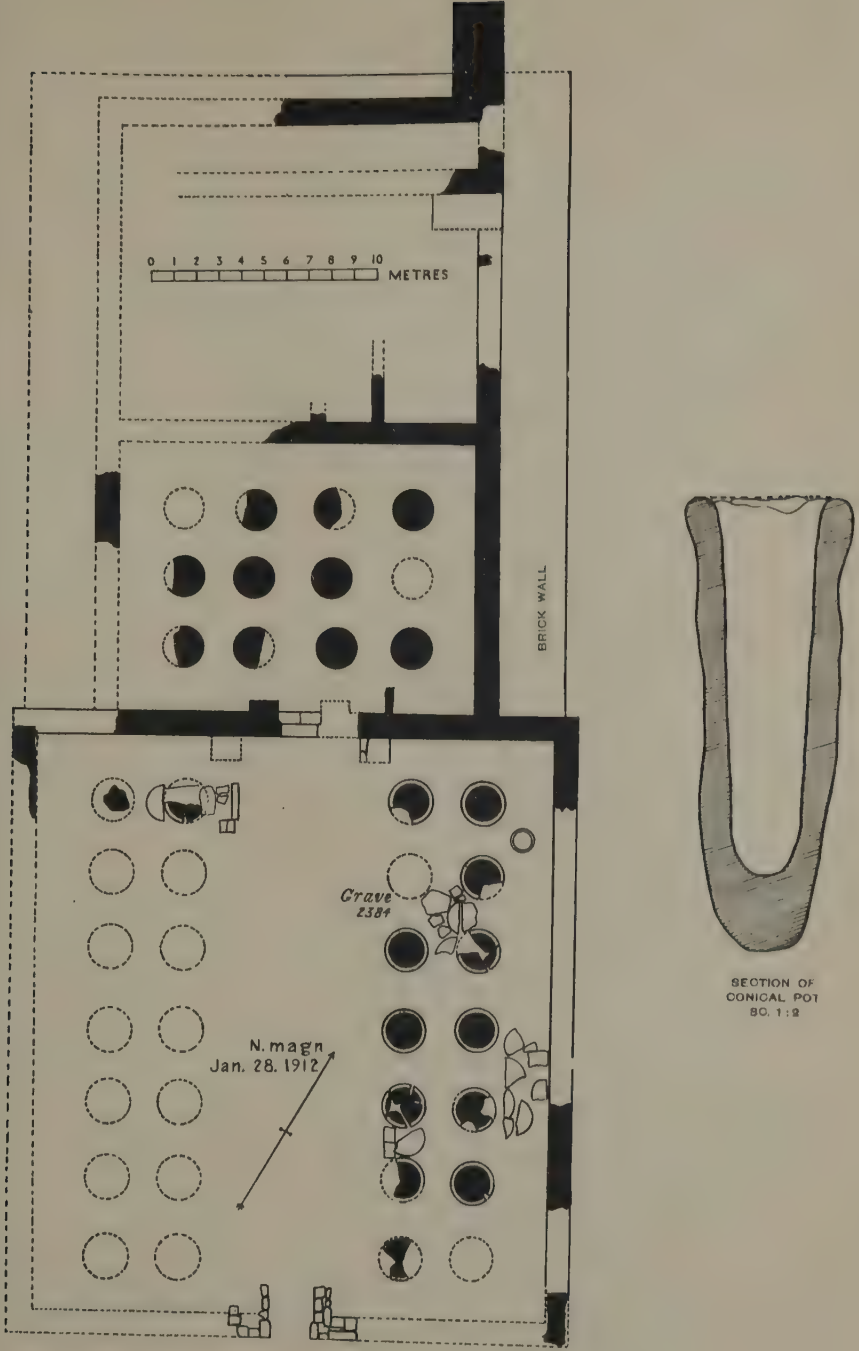




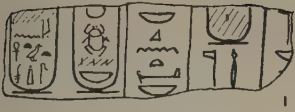
Ramesses II



Thutmosid Temple



PLAN OF TEMPLE OF TUTANKHAMUN, FARAS.



1



2



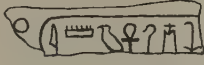
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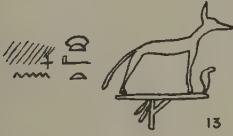
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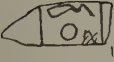
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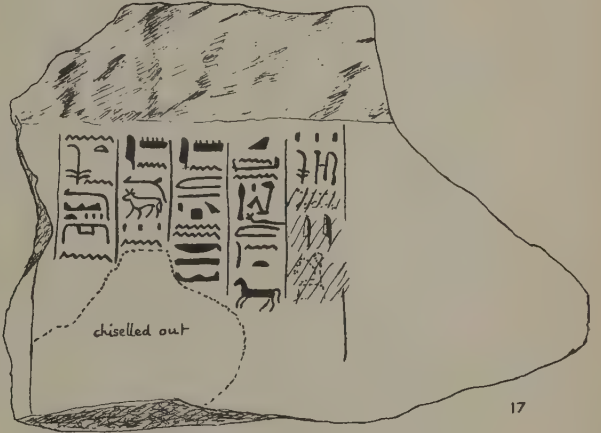
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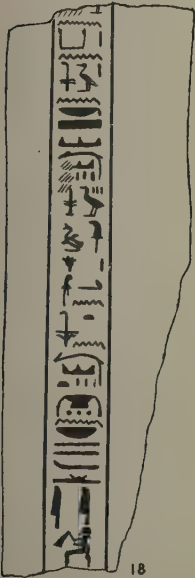
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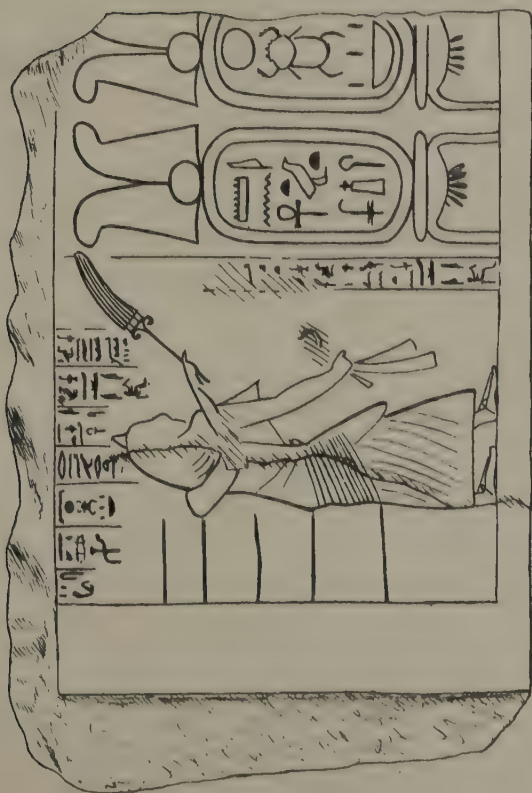
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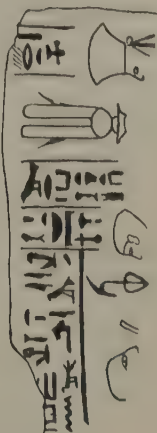


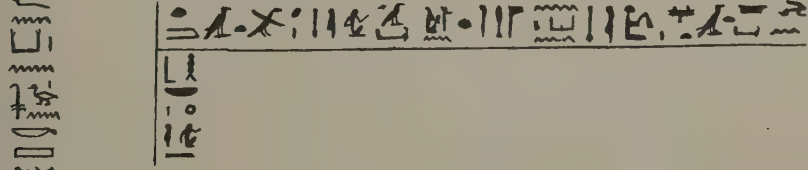
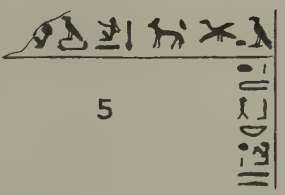
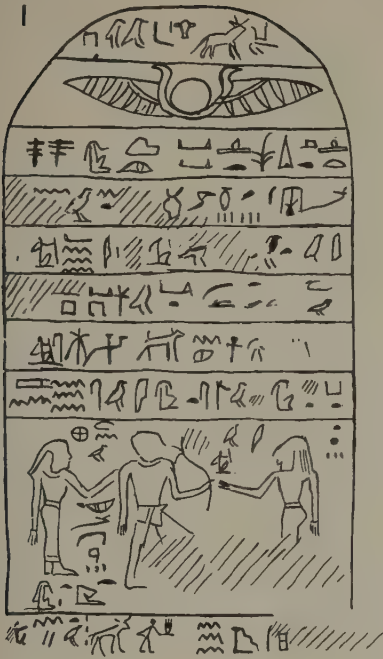
4



CLAY SEALING
ENLARGED 3.2

3





polished, five groups of diamonds, H. 25, grave 5, 1. 6, black incised, bands of gashed triangles, H. 9, grave 113, 2. 7, black incised, vertical bands with wedge-shaped punctures, H. 8, grave 199, 2. 8, black incised, H. 8, grave 8, 3. 9, 10, black incised, rectilinear plaiting divided by the curved figure of a strap arranged in four loops crosswise, original (?) white filling,¹ H. 10, grave 68, 3. 11, black incised, type VI 1, H. 7-5, grave 151, 2. 12, black incised, cross of diamonds on base, H. 7. 13, black-mouthed red cup, parallel vertical hatched bands, H. 6.

Pl. XIV. C-group cemetery. Figures scratched after firing, all from jars of type I. Figures impressed before firing, on decorated hand-made pots of type XII. Design below rim of cup, grave 23, 2 (see Pl. XI, 19). Back of silver amulet, grave 54 (see Pl. XI, 8). Tang of mirror with human head, grave 219. Design on base of scarab, grave 125. Hemicylindrical seal, grave 160, 6. Design of girdle, grave 54 (see Pl. XI, 1).

Pl. XV. Types of pottery from the C-group cemetery, see pp. 77-79.

Pl. XVI. Faras, plan of Middle Kingdom fort; types of seal impressions (full size).

Pl. XVII. New Kingdom Temples, Faras. a, View of the site of the temple of Tutankhamun after excavation, looking riverwards diagonally across the hypostyle and colonnaded court from the S.W.; showing bases of columns and remains of Meroitic graves re-filled with blown sand after excavation, and on the right the base of the wall dividing the two courts. The Meroitic mastaba-field stretches westward from in front of the high black-topped tamarisk-hill in the centre. Between two tall date palms on the river bank is an old branching dôm-palm; on the opposite bank are the cultivated fields of Adendân. On the extreme left, below the smooth sand ridge and over the excavation heaps, are seen the dotted stones of the modern cemetery. b, Excavation of the temple of Hathor from N.N.E., showing fragment of church standing on the foundation of the temple; tamarisk bushes, low lying cultivable land behind the rock and sand dunes beyond with distant hills on extreme right. c, Nabindiffi, the Hathor rock from E.N.E. before excavation, showing remnant of brick church on the rubbish mounds over the site of the temple; and the entrance to the grotto of Setau.

Pl. XVIII. Scarabs and scaraboids, chiefly with royal names, from the Hathor temple, full size. a, obverse; b, reverse. 1, Hyksos period (?), the characters including the group 'am 'Asiatic' belonging to a series now being studied by Professor Petrie. 2, Suajenre, glazed pottery. The name occurs on the table of Karnak and on several scarabs, including two found by Reisner at Gennari near Kalabsha. (See *A.S.N. Bulletin*, No. 3, p. 13, and *Report*, 1908-1909, p. 60, Pl. 42 b, 38). 3, obverse engraved to represent a frog, base inscribed Waj-kheper-re. This is the phenomenon of King Kamosi, the opponent of the Hyksos on the Carnarvon tablet; he appears to have associated Ahmosi I with himself on the throne, according to a graffito at Toshkeh about 30 miles north of Faras, discovered by Weigall (*Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, Pl. LXV). 4-14, series chiefly of Amenhotp, probably Amenhotp I, the backs in the form of a fish (5 and 14), sacred eye, (8) duck with head over its back (12). 6-12 show the name of Amenhotp, 13 that of his mother Ahmosi-Nefertari so much associated with him. 15-21, Beads and scarabs of 'Aa-kheper-ka-re', Thutmosis I, the last giving his personal name only. 22-24, Name Men-kheper-re, Thutmosis III. On the first he is

1. Before photographing in Nubia we generally filled the patterns with white flour, and in some cases the flour may still cling to the incisions.

'beloved of Ammon.' The second has a corrupt and involved legend which may perhaps be corrected to 'Men-kheper-ré, pious in monuments, beloved of the gods.' 25, Ankhs-(en)-amun, the queen of Tutankhamun and daughter of Akhenaton. 26, Nefer (t)-eri, probably the queen of Ahmosi I (cf. 13) rather than Rameses II's queen, who, however, is especially associated with Hathor of Abeshek in the second temple at Abusimbel.

Plate XIX. a, Figurines, etc., from the Hathor temple, scale, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 17, female figures, glazed ware; 3, 4, 6, 7, votive ears, glazed ware; 5, head, glazed ware; 8, 12-16, dolls, reddish pottery; 18, ape, glazed ware; 19, 21, cows, reddish pottery; 20, fragment of vessel, pale pottery; 22, glazed ware imitation of leathern ball. b, Amulets, etc., from the Hathor temple, nearly full size. Objects in the shape of animals (23, 24, are frogs, 38, 39, 41 ducks, 40 gazelle, 57 lion, 58 hedgehog), sacred eyes, deities, etc., in faience, limestone, etc., (35, steatite); 43-44, blue paste beads; 45, 47, plates of gold foil, Hathor standing and nude female (others occurred with a cow, much crumpled); 46, limestone; 56, blue paste pomegranate; 60, 67, glazed studs; 64, blue paste Hathor head.

Plate XX. a, Selected fragments of glazed bowls, the ground whitish, design brownish, probably the effect of time and soil on original blue ground-colour. b, The best preserved of the columns in the temple of Tutankhamun, second from north in easternmost row of hypostyle hall, showing composite circular base, and beginning of papyrus stems.

Plate XXI. Above, limestone stela found on the site of the temple of Tutankhamun, showing a man worshipping Ptah, Hathor and Anukis. Below, two fragments fitting together from the Meroitic cemetery, forming part of an intercolumnar (?) slab with rectangular projecting cornice. The erased figure was of the viceroy [Huy] holding a fan (cf. Pl. XXVIII, 1) and adoring the cartouches of Tutankhamun; over his head were his name and titles and a broken legend in three columns is in front. Behind Huy is seen the raised hand of his wife, above which is the beginning of an inscription 'Giving praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, obeisance to the victorious king; I make unto thee praises'

Pl. XXII. a, b, Fragments of a lintel used to cover a Christian (?) grave at East Serra, with figures of a viceroy and a priest, Dynasty XX. c, Torso of sandstone statue of a viceroy used to block the entrance of a cave grave in the Meroitic cemetery, Faras. d, Fragment of small group in grey granite of a king between Ammon and another divinity, from near the Meroitic House on the desert at Faras.

Pl. XXVI, for the pot see p. 82.

Erratum.—Pl. XV, in type XII a read 232 for 252.

ANCIENT PIRACY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN*

BY H. A. ORMEROD, M.A.

A complete history of piracy in the Mediterranean has still to be written. The task would be a fascinating one, and its completion of no small service to the historian. In the time at our disposal we can deal only with a comparatively short period of the pirates' activities within a limited area. But for a correct understanding of piracy in antiquity, and of the conditions under which the pirates worked, it is necessary to take into consideration the fundamentally unchanging character of Mediterranean life. The fuller accounts which we possess of mediaeval pirates enable us to realise much of the character of the workings of the ancients. '*La Méditerranée ne change pas.*' Bérard, applying this to the Odyssey, was able to illuminate the whole practice of the primitive Homeric mariner. In his two chapters, '*La Course*,' the best part perhaps of his book,¹ he is able to find an exact parallel to almost every detail of Odysseus' raids and cruises in the memoirs of the Frankish corsairs of the seventeenth century.

It is worth while, at the outset, trying to give a general answer to the question why it is that piracy has always flourished in these parts. Except when there has been a strong naval power, whose interest it was to suppress it, piracy has been endemic in the Mediterranean, particularly in the eastern basin, well into the nineteenth century. In the West, the

* A lecture delivered before the Classics Branch of the Arts Students Association in the University of Liverpool. My excuse for publishing it in this form is that there is no general account in English of ancient piracy. Mommsen's pages on the pirates of the first century B.C. have made a detailed account of that period unnecessary, and the short account which I have given has been included only to complete the picture as a whole. Of other works on the subject the article *Pirata* in Daremberg and Saglio has proved most useful. Sestier, *La Piraterie dans l'Antiquité* (Paris 1880) is uncritical and contains much that is irrelevant. Stein, *Ueber Piraterie im Altertum*, has hitherto been unobtainable.

I take this opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to the Rev. E. M. Walker, Queen's College, Oxford, not only for arousing my first interest in this, among many other problems of ancient history, but for permission to incorporate portions of his own notes on the subject, particularly on the part played by Athens in suppressing piracy in the fifth century B.C. I have also to thank Professor W. R. Halliday for various references and suggestions, and Professor F. Raleigh Batt for advice on certain legal points.

In a short sketch of this character it has not been possible to do more than touch on many aspects of the subject. Much of the history of early Greek navigation and commercial ventures are bound up with it. A history of piracy would contain much of the history of the migrations in the Mediterranean area. To these and kindred subjects I hope to return at a later date.

Algerian pirates were not finally suppressed, in spite of two British bombardments in 1816 and 1824, until the French conquest in 1830. Symonds, writing in the seventies, says that until a few years before there were men at Mentone who had been carried off in their boyhood. In the East, in 1833, we hear of 150 pirates, captured by the French and British, being brought to Nauplia for judgment. At the time of the Crimean War, British ships were cruising in the Cyclades on the look-out for pirates, and we hear of a ship being robbed at this time in sight of the harbour of Syra.²

It is primarily to the geographical features of the Mediterranean lands and coastline that we must look, in order to explain the success of piracy at sea and brigandage on land. The latter has an independent history of its own, and still flourishes.³ The difficulties of communication by land, owing to mountain barriers, have necessitated that the bulk of merchandise should be carried by sea, and therefore be easily raided from convenient lurking-places along the main trade routes; the difficulties of mutual assistance between districts make quick descents on the coast an easy, and in days when the slave-trade flourished, an exceedingly profitable business.⁴

The coastline itself affords abundant refuges; rocky islands and peninsulas, easily put into a state of defence, whose reduction would require time and expense; hidden bays and creeks within creeks, where discovery is almost impossible, except by simultaneous searching of all likely localities, or by the treachery of local inhabitants, against whom the pirate would protect himself by terrorism, or better still, by giving them a portion of his spoil⁵—these have always been the safeguards of the pirate, if for any reason his activities should rouse the law to unwonted energy.

We must, I think, define what we mean by a pirate. The word, of course, is Greek, although it is not used in this sense by writers of the classical period, but first appears in the third century B.C. as one who makes attempts or attacks, *par excellence* on ships. Piracy, as understood in English law, is the commission of those acts of robbery and violence upon the sea, which, if committed upon land, would amount to felony. The pirate holds no commission or delegated authority from any Sovereign or State empowering him to attack others.⁶

If we accept this definition, it is obvious that in a discussion of ancient piracy we must draw certain distinctions between the pure pirate of the accepted type and the privateer. Some amount of difficulty will arise

when we come to the ancient equivalent of the buccaneer and to what may be called the piratical community.

The name buccaneer, in its wider usage,⁷ may rightly be applied to certain of the early Greek adventurers in the western Mediterranean. The idea of the neutrality of the seas is of modern growth and entirely foreign to antiquity. The combined Carthaginian and Etruscan navies endeavoured to close the western seas to foreign commercial enterprise. Thus, the earliest treaty between Carthage and Rome, as recorded by Polybius,⁸ stipulated that no Roman should, except under stress, sail beyond the Fair Promontory; and the Carthaginian claim to regard these seas as a portion of their own territory is paralleled by that of the Athenians who, instigated by the Argives for purposes of their own, complained that Athenian neutrality had been violated when, in 419 B.C., the Spartans had conveyed 300 troops by sea to Epidaurus.⁹ Just as the Spanish West Indian policy in the seventeenth century gave rise to the buccaneers, properly so called, so the Carthaginian endeavour to close the western seas created a similar buccaneering enterprise on the part of the Greeks, in particular the Phocaeans. Phocaean voyages in the West were undertaken not in merchantmen but warships;¹⁰ their settlers in Corsica who, according to Herodotus, robbed and pillaged all their neighbours, were finally driven out by combined Carthaginian and Etruscan efforts.¹¹ The refugee, Dionysius of Phocaea, who, after the battle of Lade, took refuge in Sicily, abstained from pillaging the Greeks, but devoted his attentions entirely to Carthaginians and Etruscans.¹²

We hear of a curious settlement of Cnidians and Rhodians in the Lipari Islands,¹³ whose existence was partly agricultural, partly piratical, the whole enterprise being organised on a communistic basis, as Livy calls it, *publicum latrocinium*. On one occasion a Roman embassy to Delphi was attacked by them, but such was their reverence for the gods that the ambassadors were set free and their offerings restored. It is quite true, as Bérard has shown,¹⁴ that superstition plays an important part in the pirate's life, but the good-will shown towards the Romans on this occasion is far more likely to have arisen from a mutual hostility to the masters of the Tyrrhenian sea, and if there is any foundation for the story at all, it is to be regarded as another of the somewhat shadowy connections between the western Greeks and early Romans in their common opposition to the Carthaginians and Etruscans.

With regard to privateering—that is, plundering by virtue of an

authorisation given by the State to owners of private vessels to carry out acts of war—owing to the fact that privateering in antiquity was sanctioned wholesale and not limited by the granting of letters of marque to individuals, it is often difficult to distinguish privateering on the part of a belligerent State from the continuous piracy of a more backward community. Polybius describes the naval operations of the Aetolian league as piracy, *ἐξέπεμπον πειρατάς*.¹⁵ In point of fact, these were privateers definitely sent out by the State to carry out acts of war, pillaging and commerce-destroying, the only form of maritime warfare possible to States possessing no organised navy, when engaged in war with a naval power.¹⁶ Regarding the matter from the character of their operations and from the point of view of their victims (we find them, for example, holding to ransom 280 persons captured in Naxos¹⁷ in true pirate style, and working in conjunction with the genuine pirates of Illyria under Scerdilaïdas),¹⁸ Polybius fails to draw the finer distinction between pirate and privateer. The Aetolians are, however, entitled to the distinction, their operations being for the most part controlled by the State,¹⁹ and limited to war-time,²⁰ and if on occasion they failed to distinguish between enemy and neutral, so also, according to Demosthenes, did the trierarchs of Athens, a State where the distinction between pirate and privateer was more sharply defined. ‘Whenever anyone contracts for a trierarchy and sails out, he kidnaps and pillages everywhere, so that you are unable to go anywhere without a flag of truce.’²¹

Privateering was, in fact, a recognised part of ancient warfare, and, as we have seen, the resort of States that were weaker at sea. A declaration of privateering (*ρύσια καταγγέλλειν, λάφυρον ἐπικηρύττειν*)²² often preceded a formal declaration of war, just as the Lacedaemonians in the winter of 416-5, without yet declaring war, issued general letters of marque, as it might be called, to all who wished to plunder Athenian commerce.²³ We hear a good deal of privateering in the Peloponnesian war, on both sides. Demosthenes at Pylos was able to arm his sailors with weapons provided by Messenian privateers that happened to be on the spot.²⁴ But the Athenians, having the greater interests at sea, were probably the greatest sufferers. An expedition was necessary to Lycia and Caria in 429, to put down τὸ ληστικὸν τῶν Πελοποννησίων, the Peloponnesian privateers that were using that coast as a base from which to plunder the merchantmen coming from Phaselis and Phoenicia.²⁵ At a later stage of the war, though these are commerce-destroyers rather than privateers, we find a mixed Pelo-

ponnesian force lying off the Triopian promontory to catch the merchantmen from Egypt.²⁶ The Athenian coasting trade round the Peloponnese must have suffered, for the Athenians, putting to death Aristeus and the ambassadors to Persia, justified their action by the treatment accorded to the traders caught sailing round the Peloponnese. For, according to Thucydides, at the beginning of the war, the Lacedaemonians treated all whom they caught alike, whether enemy or neutral.²⁷ (This Peloponnesian privateering was probably done for the most part in small boats at night; the Megarian traitors contrived to get the gates opened at night by posing as privateers. 'For according to their custom they put a sculling boat, like pirates, at nightfall on to a wagon and take it down to the sea, returning before daybreak.')²⁸ The Lacedaemonian treatment of the neutral was followed by the inevitable protest. When the commander sent to the relief of Mytilene proceeded to treat Ionia in the same fashion, he was curtly informed that 'this was not the way to free Greece, by killing men who were not their enemies and had not raised a hand against them, but were subject to Athens by force.'²⁹

Athens, as we have seen, recognised the practice and followed it herself. An Athenian merchant, who had lent money to two Phaselites and was unable to recover it, complains that he had been robbed, as though the Phaselites had been granted letters of marque against Athens.³⁰ But the privateering system, in the fourth century at any rate, was carefully regulated by law. This comes out clearly in Demosthenes' speech against Timocrates,³¹ the object of which is the recovery of certain moneys owed to the State for the following reason: Androtion, Glaucetes and Melanopus, being sent on a mission to Mausolus, travelled on board an Athenian warship, and on the voyage fell in with an Egyptian merchantman from Naucratis. This they captured and brought to Peiraeus. Now Athens, at the time, was anxious to secure the good-will of the Great King, and Egypt being in revolt from him, the ship was condemned by the prize court, and it is now sought to recover the prize money, which by law belonged to the State.

We, I think, should call this sheer piracy, sanctioned by the State,³² as no doubt the Egyptian owners did, who may have called to mind the earlier conduct of Polycrates of Samos, who, with his fleet of 100 penteconters, plundered friend and foe alike, thinking to obtain greater gratitude from friends if he restored their property after capture than if it had never been captured at all.³³ But the story in Demosthenes does at least show

that privateering was strictly supervised at Athens, that there was some sort of prize court which decided the legality of a capture, and that, in any case, the prize money was not the property of the individual.

I must apologise for this somewhat lengthy digression on the subject of privateering ; but it has served to clear away some of the misapprehensions which are liable to be caused by the indiscriminate application of the Greek word *λήστης* to pirate and privateer alike.

In dealing with early conditions in the Mediterranean, it is not always easy to differentiate between the pirate of English law and the piratical community. Piracy and wrecking³⁴ have always been one of the means of life of the smaller maritime communities, and, in so far as the State takes cognisance of it, can be said to have its sanction. To the Roman representations regarding attacks on Italian merchants, Queen Teuta replied that it was unusual for their kings to prevent the Illyrians from following their normal occupations by sea.³⁵ To the primitive community peace or alliance is an abnormal condition ; war, the object of which is pillage and plunder, the normal.³⁶ The richest and therefore the most honoured members of the community are those who have been most successful in war with, that is, in raiding their neighbours. The Greek word *ληΐζεσθαι* is applicable both to captures in war, as understood at a later date, and in freebooting expeditions.³⁷ Reprisals for such raids naturally followed, like the cattle-driving and reprisals in which Nestor boasts that he showed such prowess in his youth.³⁸ The endless kidnappings of women that went on between Europe and Asia, as described by Herodotus, correspond exactly with the picture in the *Odyssey*. We have already seen the nurse of Eumaeus carried off from Phoenicia by Taphians ; the corresponding picture is the abduction of Eumaeus himself by her countrymen, with the lady's assistance.

Exploits of the last kind belong to an age when the primitive sailor is beginning to go further afield, when Odysseus can say : ' I loved not work or house-keeping, but I sailed with nine ships to Egypt, and attacked the fields of the Egyptians, and carried off the women and children and slew the men.'³⁹ By this time, too, it is found to be more profitable to raid distant countries rather than one's neighbours. If a raid does take place near home, it can be settled by agreement instead of by reprisals, just as Odysseus, on the occasion that he received the bow from Iphitus in the house of Orsilochus in Messene, had gone there for a debt, which all the people owed ; for Messenian men came in their ships and took 300 sheep

from Ithaca and the shepherds. For this reason, Odysseus came in his youth a far journey on a commission, for his father and the other elders sent him.⁴⁰ The matter presumably was settled by agreement, and the Messenians became, like the Thesprotians,⁴¹ friends (*ἄρθμοι*) of the Ithacans, and no more raiding took place, just as in the fifth century the peoples of Oeantheia and Chaleion agreed to suspend piracy against each other:⁴² 'No Oeantheian if he make a seizure shall carry off a foreigner from Chaleian soil, nor shall a Chaleian carry off a foreigner from Oeantheian soil, nor shall either Oeantheian or Chaleian carry off a cargo within the territory of either State. If anyone breaks this law, he may be seized with impunity. The property of a foreigner may be seized on the sea, without incurring penalty, except in the actual harbour of the city. If anyone makes unlawful seizure, four drachmae be the penalty; if he retain the goods beyond ten days, let him be fined half as much again as the amount of the seizure.'

The backward conditions that prevailed in this portion of the Greek world, as revealed in the inscription, attracted the notice of the Greeks themselves in the fifth century, and are used by Thucydides to illustrate the picture which he draws of an earlier age. You will pardon me if we examine that passage in detail.⁴³ I give a rough paraphrase:

'Minos was the earliest that we hear of to possess a fleet; and he put down piracy so far as he was able, in order that his revenues might come in.'

Thucydides assumes, rightly enough, an age of universal piracy at sea, with every man's hand against all men. With the first institution of the 'established civilised State,' having commercial interests, comes the first direct repression and a police of the seas.

'For in ancient days Greeks and all the coastal and island barbarians turned to piracy, as soon as maritime communications started, attacking cities still unwalled and consisting of village settlements. Their leaders were not the most unimportant among them, and there was no disgrace attached to piracy, but the matter brought renown, as is proved by the attitude of certain of the mainlanders to the present day and especially by the older poets, who make their characters enquire of visitors if they are pirates.'

Thucydides has, of course, in mind such passages in Homer as that in which the Cyclops enquires of Odysseus: 'Do ye wander for trade or at random like pirates over the sea?'⁴⁴ Similarly Nestor asks the same

question of Telemachus at Pylos, after he has received him to the sacrificial feast.⁴⁵

‘They also plundered one another on land; these habits still reign among the Ozolian Locrians, the Aetolians, and Acarnanians, and on this part of the mainland.’⁴⁶ For among these mainlanders the habit of carrying arms still survives from their ancient piracy. Once all Greece carried arms owing to the general insecurity.’

It is rather remarkable that a century and a half later, when, as we shall see, the restraining hand had been removed, the practice of carrying arms had once more, according to Plutarch,⁴⁷ become universal by the time of Aratus’ attack on Sicyon.

‘Cities more recently founded, as navigation became more possible, and possessing greater wealth were built with walls on the shores themselves or on an isthmus for the purposes of trade, but the older foundations, owing to the prevalence of piracy, were planted some distance from the sea, both those on islands and on the mainland.’

The last has always been the case in the Mediterranean. Among ancient sites one need think only of the acropolis of Athens, four miles inland, and the lofty Acrocorinthos. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the dwellers on the coast were once more driven back to the hill-tops all round the Mediterranean. In the Cornice and the coast of Calabria, villages and ruined castles may be seen built high up on the peaks to give protection against the raids of the Algerian pirates. In the Aegean the same is the case, as most travellers will have observed. Thus in Telos, Nisyros, and Leros, the principal villages are hidden from the sea and about half a mile from it.⁴⁸ In Cos, as Professor Halliday tells me, the village of Antimachia was situated inside the circuit of the old castle of the knights of Rhodes, on a hill some forty minutes from the sea. It was inhabited till the Crimean War, but the inhabitants have now dispersed to form villages round. Fortified villages of this type would provide a rallying-point for the inhabitants of the island, as soon as the warning of the corsairs approach was given by the sentinels on the hills. Thus in Calymnos the two highest hills are known as *Vigli*, ‘watch,’ and *Merovigli*, ‘day-watch.’⁴⁹

The sudden descent on the almost deserted coast, and the rallying of the natives from their central strongholds receives its best illustration from the *Odyssey*:⁵⁰ ‘From Ilion the wind brought me to the Cicones, to Ismaros; there I sacked the city (doubtless a *πόλις ἀτείχιστος*, as described

by Thucydides) and slew the men, and taking from the city the women and many possessions, we divided them, that no man might go deprived of an equal share.⁵¹ Then I bade my comrades fly with nimble foot, but they, fools that they were, obeyed not. But much wine was drunk, and many sheep they slew by the shore, and shambling-gaited, crook-horned oxen. Meantime the Cicones going called to other Cicones, who were their neighbours, far more numerous and warlike, dwelling inland, knowing well to fight with men from chariots and on foot, when need be. They came then in number like the leaves and flowers in their season. Then did an evil doom from Zeus come upon us ill-fated.'

To the post-Minoan age, the age of migration and disturbance, when the early merchant is both trader and pirate, when the Phoenician merchant trades where he can and supplements his lawful gains by kidnapping, succeeds a period when, for the serious trader, the irregular side of his business becomes less profitable. With the more powerful communities it is more advantageous to maintain good relations, and purchase, for example, the captives made by them in wars than to kidnap on one's own account.⁵² Although *force majeure* might still be employed against weaker competitors,⁵³ we have, by this time, reached the stage of development represented in the Thucydidean account, when, speaking of the early Corinthian commerce and navy, he goes on to say that as the Greeks took more to the sea and acquired ships, they began to put down piracy.

It is only at this time, when the trading States attempt to protect themselves against the depredations of the more backward, by direct repression,⁵⁴ whether single-handed or in conjunction with others,⁵⁵ that we can attempt to make any distinction between the 'established civilised State' and the piratical community.⁵⁶ How thin was the dividing line between the two may be realised from a reputed law of Solon,⁵⁷ by which associations of men who 'went out for plunder' were legally on the same footing as trading associations. It is possible, however, to trace the growth of a higher morality in this respect,⁵⁸ and the Delphic oracle and similar religious institutions seem to have set their faces against piracy and brigandage at this time,⁵⁹ although even Apollo may have been influenced by a not unworldly motive, when the oracle advised the extermination of the lawless races of the Cirrhaean plain, who in the time of Solon intercepted the offerings of the faithful.⁶⁰

But it is not until the firm establishment of the naval empire of Athens

that anything like an effective police of the Aegean was organised. We hear little of the actual measures taken, only isolated accounts of operations such as those of Cimon in Scyros.⁶¹ Pericles is said by Plutarch to have endeavoured to get all the Greek world to co-operate with Athens,⁶² but we do not hear that he aroused much enthusiasm. It is certain, however, that the seas were effectively cleared during this period. We have only to contrast the evidence in the periods preceding and succeeding the Athenian empire with the absolute silence as to the occurrence of piracy during the time of Athenian rule. Thus soon after the Persian wars, before the power of Athens was fully established, we find in the laws of Teos imprecations against magistrates who practise piracy or act in collusion with pirates.⁶³ Such an ordinance implies the normality of piracy at this time in the Aegean. When the Chian refugees, after the battle of Lade, landed in the territory of Ephesus, they were mistaken for pirates come to kidnap women and at once attacked in force.⁶⁴ But when Alcidas, in 427 B.C., made his expedition to Asia Minor, he found Ionia unfortified.⁶⁵ When the firm hand of Athens is removed, we have a very different picture. Isocrates, writing within twenty-five years of the fall of Athens, says that pirates command the seas;⁶⁶ Aeschines tells us that the pirate-ships were the refuge of broken men;⁶⁷ the barbarian communities that Athens had kept down were once more putting to sea and pillaging.⁶⁸ An Athenian citizen, going in pursuit of a runaway slave, was himself captured and sold in Aegina—this, perhaps, was done by a privateer,⁶⁹ but Lycon of Heraclea, soon after leaving Athens, was caught by genuine pirates in the Argolic gulf.⁷⁰

From this time the forces of the pirates gathered strength until they became the formidable power that the Romans had to face in the early years of the first century B.C. That this was the case the Powers of eastern Mediterranean had themselves to thank. In an age when armies were largely composed of mercenaries, it was all the same to adventurers or refugees whether they adopted the life of a pirate or a mercenary.⁷¹ Either career could be followed according to the opportunities of the moment. When a call for troops went round, pirates would not infrequently offer their services as mercenaries. Thus, in 302 B.C., pirates from all quarters joined the army of Demetrius for the sake of plunder, not less than 8,000 in number.⁷² Aratus, for his attack on Sicyon, hired a few men from the robber chieftains, ἀρχίκλωπες, (arch-thieves, as Plutarch⁷³ calls them). For dangerous operations, where heavy sacrifices of men were required,

no doubt it was convenient to have men of this character available, about whose loss no one was likely to be concerned and who could easily be replaced. At sea, particularly, the services of the pirates were enlisted. The 'arch-pirate' Timocles was employed by Demetrius against Rhodes, and was captured by the Rhodians.⁷⁴ Ptolemy II, in his war with Antiochus I, encouraged piracy in so far as it crippled his adversary.⁷⁵ Antiochus III also employed the pirate Nicander against Rhodes.⁷⁶ Ameinias, the arch-pirate, captured Cassandreia for Antigonus.⁷⁷ Glaucetas, the so-called admiral of Antigonus, was nothing but a pirate, and when he was expelled from Cythnos by Thymochares in 315-4, the latter's exploit was thankfully remembered by the Athenians as having rendered the sea safe for sailors.⁷⁸ But it is not until the first century that the pirates rose to the height of their political power, when they formed the greater part of the fleet of Mithradates, and in his scheme of campaign were to be the connecting link between himself and Sertorius in the West.⁷⁹

It will be asked if nothing was done during the whole period of the Diadochi to keep the evil in check; on the whole, the measures taken for repression, especially by the mercantile States, were just sufficient to prevent piracy from becoming the intolerable pest that we find in the first century. To return to the fourth century, we find Athens sending out cruisers to protect her commerce against pirates,⁸⁰ and, according to a speech that has come down with those of Demosthenes, making agreements, as Rhodes did later, for mutual assistance in repression. The Melians, who had been parties to the agreement, were fined ten talents for harbouring pirates.⁸¹ So Philip, also, when his maritime interests began to be important, appears to have made a proposal of the kind to Athens for common action.⁸² To guard her corn-ships coming from the Adriatic, Athens, in the latter part of the fourth century, is reported to have sent a colony as a protection against the Etruscan pirates,⁸³ just as earlier in the century the younger Dionysius of Syracuse had occupied posts on the Apulian coast for a similar reason.⁸⁴ The Italian pirates were at this time extending their activities beyond their own seas;⁸⁵ we find in 298 an inscription recording the borrowing of a sum of money by Delos in order to put herself in a state of defence against Tyrrhenian pirates,⁸⁶ and Demetrius is reported to have complained to Rome about the depredations of the men of Antium in the Aegean.⁸⁷

The earlier policy of Athens was revived towards the end of the third

century by the great commercial State of the Rhodians, who endeavoured to check the evil so far as they were able,⁸⁸ and, as Athens had done before, entered into engagements with other maritime States. One of these treaties has been preserved, with Hierapytna in Crete, by which both sides agree to give each other support against the pirates, and to join in attacking any State assisting in or conniving at piracy.⁸⁹

Although the Diadochi were ready enough to make use of the pirates' services against their enemies, there was little likelihood of their tolerating them off their own coasts. While the Ptolemies held the southern coast of Asia Minor, the pirates never established themselves in Cilicia. A descent on Thera, the headquarters of the Egyptians in the Aegean was driven off by the Egyptian *navarchus*,⁹⁰ just as in the North Lysimachus drove off a party of freebooters who endeavoured to pillage the offerings of the temple in Samothrace.⁹¹

On the whole the larger mercantile communities were able to protect themselves, and the Kings looked after their own shore-line. The condition of the smaller islands, however, at this time, was grievous.⁹² Naturally we hear little of their sufferings, which are recorded only in occasional inscriptions. We have already seen the 280 Naxians carried off by Aetolian privateers. An inscription of Amorgos⁹³ (c. 200 B.C.) tells of a sudden descent upon the harbour, when the boat of a certain Dorieus was carried off with some 30 persons, men, women, and girls. Two of the captives prevailed on Socleides, the captain of the gang, to hold his prisoners to ransom and themselves remained as hostages. An inscription of Tenos about 100 years later portrays the island as reduced to extreme poverty owing to the endless descents of the pirates.⁹⁴

The picture drawn by Finlay⁹⁵ of the state of Greece in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, harried and depopulated by the Christian corsairs, while the actual rulers, the Turks, did nothing to protect their subjects, but prevented them almost without exception from fitting out armed ships to carry their commerce, so that they were reduced to creeping round the coasts in small boats by night, could very nearly be applied to the coastal districts and islands of the Aegean at this time. The attitude of the Diadochi is also paralleled by that of the European Powers towards the Algerian pirates. They were encouraged by France against Spain, and later by Great Britain and Holland against France. In the eighteenth century, it was not infrequently stated that their existence was a useful check on weaker competitors for the carrying trade of the

Mediterranean. This was exactly the attitude of some of the commercial States in the time of the Diadochi.⁹⁶

We come now to the remarkable conditions which prevailed in the first half of the last century before Christ, when the great pirate communities of Cilicia and Crete were at the height of their power. For this development the apathy and negligence of Rome were responsible. Roman jealousy had destroyed or weakened every maritime power in the East, and she herself put nothing in their place to maintain the police of the seas. The naval power of Egypt had been in decay since the time of Euergetes, and had become negligible. Rhodes, indeed, still endeavoured to protect her maritime interests,⁹⁷ but single-handed she was unable to accomplish much. By the terms of the peace dictated to Antiochus in 189 B.C., the latter was compelled to surrender all but ten ships, and no vessel might be sent by him to the west of the river Calycadnus. Such an ordinance at once threw open the rocky coasts of S.W. Asia Minor to the pirates. The beginnings of their settlements in this region are dated by Strabo⁹⁸ to the occupation of Coracesium by the Syrian usurper Diodotus Tryphon, who gathered round him the off-scourings of the East. Though he himself was overthrown, his followers were never expelled. Henceforward the numbers of the pirates, both in Cilicia and Crete, were continually augmented by the refugees of all nations. Many causes contributed to increase their numbers. The continual wars, the destruction of towns, punishments, the lack of personal security, the appalling miseries entailed by the long duration of the Mithradatic wars, the Roman oppression of provincials, the disbanding of the large mercenary armies, all combined to recruit the ever-growing pirate States. Though Rome, where her own immediate interests were concerned, never long tolerated anything of the kind in the West, yet in the early first century, owing partly to internal troubles in Italy, little was done, and what little energy was shown was misapplied.⁹⁹ Consequently the subject States were compelled to protect themselves in a way that only increased the evil. Convenient bases were united by the pirates to themselves; the only way to protect oneself against the pirates was to be on their side.¹⁰⁰

Moreover, the pirate had his place in the economic scheme. The enormous demand for slaves was met by the pirate and the tax-farmer.¹⁰¹ The clearing-house for this traffic was, of course, the island of Delos, and so great was the demand and supply that, according to Strabo, as many slaves as 10,000 changed masters there in a day. Hence arose the saying

'Merchant put in, unload, all sold.'¹⁰² Delos was an open port to the pirates, and though truce was maintained in the harbour, it was well for the peaceful merchant to beware of the crew of the ship lying next him, or the Corycian trick would be played on him.¹⁰³

The half-measures adopted by the Romans bore little fruit. The occupation of Cilicia as a province in 102 merely drove the pirates to the hill fortresses of the West; the vigorous campaigns of Isauricus in 78 cleared Lycia and Cilicia for a time, but the pirates temporarily removed themselves to Cretan waters, to the 'golden-gulf'¹⁰⁴ between Africa and Greece, across which the merchantmen from Egypt and the Levant must pass. The expedition under Antonius to Crete in 74 was an utter failure.

The partial measures adopted by the Romans, combined with the closing of all ports to the pirates, a measure which is probably to be assigned to the Marian regime,¹⁰⁵ drove the pirates altogether into the arms of Mithradates, and gave him that command of the sea which so greatly hampered Sulla. As the war continued, their strength grew and they began to lay the foundations of a permanent naval power.

It is unfortunate that no ancient writer has given us a detailed description of their organisation at this time. Much of what we read has a distinctly rhetorical appearance, and it is difficult to form a clear picture of the pirate State.¹⁰⁶ We hear that during the Mithradatic wars the pirates were beginning to give up their smaller craft, *hemioliai* and *myoparones*,¹⁰⁷ and were building biremes and triremes. Their vessels are richly adorned with gold, silver, and purple. They no longer sail in packs, but in organised squadrons. The 'arch-pirates' have now become admirals (*στρατηγοί*). The closest connection is maintained between groups, money and reinforcements being sent as required.¹⁰⁸ We cannot guess their numbers, which are given by Appian as many tens of thousands. Pompeius is reported to have taken 20,000 prisoners, and destroyed more than 1,400 boats; skilled fitters were kept in captivity at their arsenals, and vast quantities of naval stores and munitions were captured after the final battle at Coracesium.¹⁰⁹

Their daring was so feared by the Romans that Cicero tells us that the Roman fleets scarcely dared venture from Brundisium in winter.¹¹⁰ A portion of the fleet of Flaccus was burnt by them;¹¹¹ Lucullus could only make his way from Cyrene to Alexandria by changing from ship to ship,¹¹² and again, during the negotiations with Archelaus and Mithradates

was more than once in danger of capture.¹¹³ Finally, a Roman fleet was burnt at Ostia.¹¹⁴

The extent of their depredations must have been enormous. Making all allowance for the influence of rhetoric in the 400 cities, which they are said to have sacked, there yet remains a long list of towns whose names are recorded both in Italy and the East. Some were taken by assault, others even by siege.¹¹⁵ Noble Roman ladies, among them the daughter of the Antonius who commanded the unfortunate expedition to Crete, and two praetors, were carried off from Italy.¹¹⁶ When a captured Roman citizen threatened vengeance, they would fall upon their knees and ask his pardon, then would dress him in his toga and make him walk the plank.¹¹⁷ Others were treated with a rough courtesy of the Robin Hood type, as, for example, Julius Caesar,¹¹⁸ in gratitude for which, after his release, when he had pursued and caught his captors, he cut their throats before nailing them to the cross.

It is hardly surprising that the people insisted on an extraordinary command being conferred on Pompeius. The corn-supply was failing, and Rome was threatened with a famine.¹¹⁹ Pompeius adopted a plan of campaign which should have been followed many years before. By simultaneous attacks on all the pirates' lurking places, he cleared the West in forty days, then going to the East himself, he attacked the centre of the pirates' power in Cilicia. No small part of his success was due to his moderation. Those who surrendered were spared, and settled in the depopulated districts. The earlier Roman practice had been threats and crucifixion.

Little further trouble was experienced. Sporadic outbreaks provided a pretext for the occupation of Cyprus and Egypt. An outbreak in the Adriatic was put down by Octavian, and the island of Corcyra depopulated for the part it had taken.¹²⁰ In the civil wars, piracy once more acquired a temporary importance.¹²¹ The alliance between Sextus Pompeius and the remnants of the pirates was dangerous for a time, and provided a fruitful theme to the rhetorician. But henceforward, until the beginnings of the barbarian movements, the Mediterranean enjoyed a freedom from piracy which it was not to know again until the present time.

1. Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*.

2. Finlay, *History of Greece*, VII, p. 151; Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, I, p. 262.

3. War conditions in Greece were responsible for outbreaks of brigandage in 1918. Local papers contained many references to the depredations of *insoumis* who had taken to the hills.

4. Cf. Polybius, II, 5, on the Illyrian descents. So Odysseus to the slave Eumaeus: 'Was your native town sacked, or when you were alone with the sheep did hostile men carry you off?' (*Od.*, XIV, 384). The Phoenician nurse: 'I am from Sidon, rich in bronze, the daughter of Arybas, exceeding wealthy; but Taphian men, pirates, snatched me away, as I was returning from the field, and brought me to the house of this man, and he gave a goodly price.' (*Od.*, XIV, 452).

5. Cf. Cicero, *Verrines*, IV, 9-10. There is a good description of such conditions by Strabo in his account of the pirates of the Caucasian coasts (XI, p. 496).

6. Professor Batt gives me this definition from Wharton's *Law Lexicon*, referring also to Murray, *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *Piracy*: 'The practice or crime of robbery and depredation on the sea or navigable rivers, etc., or by descent from the sea upon the coast, by persons not holding a commission from an established civilised State.' In applying this definition to antiquity it is not always easy to answer the question what constituted an 'established civilised State.' Queen Teuta, for example, definitely granted permission to all Illyrian sailors to plunder those whom they met (Polybius, II, 4). As we shall see, the decline of universal piracy coincides with the advance of civilisation. See below, pp. 109 seqq.

7. Murray, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Buccaneer*: para. 2. 'A name given to piratical rovers who formerly infested the Spanish coasts in America.'

8. Polyb., III, 22.

9. Thucyd., V, 56.

10. Hdt., I, 163.

11. *Id.*, I, 166.

12. *Id.*, VI, 17.

13. Diod. Sic., V, 9; XIV, 93; Livy, V, 28.

14. *Op cit.*, I, p. 184.

15. Polyb., IV, 6, 1.

16. For this view of Aetolian operations see Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 87, n. 76.

17. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 244.

18. Polybius, IV, 6, 1; on Scerdilaïdas see also V, 95; Strabo, X, 669.

19. Cf. C.I.G. 2350; immunity from its privateers guaranteed by the Aetolian league to the people of Ceos. Similar agreements with Eumenes II regarding the temple of Athene Nikephoros at Pergamum (Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 295); with Mytilene (Michel, *Recueil*, 25).

20. For the very liberal interpretation of 'war-time' by the Aetolians see Polybius, XVII, 5. For purposes of plunder it was held to include wars in which friends and allies were engaged.

21. Demosthenes, LI, 13. Cf. VIII, 25, on blackmail levied by Athenian *στρατηγολ*.

22. Polyb., IV, 53; IV, 26; IV, 36.

23. Thuc., V, 115.

24. *Id.*, IV, 9.

25. *Id.*, II, 69.

26. *Id.*, VIII, 35.

27. *Id.*, II, 67.

28. *Id.*, IV, 69.

29. *Id.*, III, 30.

30. Demosthenes, XXXV, 26. This is not the place for a discussion of the phrase *σὺλα διδόναι* which I must reserve for another occasion.

31. *Id.*, XXIV, Arg. I, §2; arg. II, §1; XXIV, §12.

32. The Athenian action in this matter is curiously akin to the normal Aetolian attitude mentioned in note 20.

33. Hdt., III, 29. The Samians appear, as a community, to have enjoyed an evil reputation in this respect, see Plutarch, *Qu. Graec.*, 55.

34. On the Black Sea wreckers see Xenophon, *Anab.*, V, 73; Hdt., IV, 103; Strabo, VI, p. 308. Zimmern, *Gk. Commonwealth*, p. 29, n. 1, has an ingenious note on the rock Myrmex (near Scyros). Cf. Hdt., VII, 183.

For the penalties in Roman law against wreckers see Sestier, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

35. Polyb., II, 8; cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, I, 8, in discussing the various modes of life: 'Some live from hunting, and there are different forms of this, for example, fishing, in ponds, marshes, rivers and lakes, or piracy, or the hunting of birds or beasts.' Cf. Justin, XLIII, 3, Phocæenses exiguitate ac macie terrae coacti, studiosius mare quam terras exercuere; piscando, mercando, plerumque etiam latrocinio maris, quod illis temporibus gloriae habebatur, vitam tolerabant.

36. This point of view is well put by Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

37. Of the slave girls whom Odysseus carried off as booty (*Ἀλίσσαρο*), *Od.*, I, 298; the marauding expeditions undertaken by the Greeks under Achilles' leadership before Troy (*πλαζόμενοι κατὰ ληΐδα*), *Od.*, III, 106; oxen and mighty sheep are to be had for the harrying (*λήιστοι*), *Il.*, IX, 106; Odysseus to the shade of Agamemnon: Were you slain on the beach marauding cattle, or fighting for a city and women? i.e., in a freebooting expedition or in regular warfare. *Od.*, XI, 400.

38. *Il.*, XI, 670.

39. *Od.*, XIV, 222, 247, 263. It must be borne in mind that many of the raiding stories told in the *Odyssey* belong to an age of migration.

40. *Od.*, XXI, 15.

41. *Od.*, XVI, 427.

42. *I. G. Sept.*, III, 333, Hicks and Hill, no. 44, whose version I have followed, with slight changes. An agreement of similar character between Lyttos and Malla (Collitz-Bechtel, *G. D. I.*, 5100). See note 30 (above).

43. *Thuc.*, I, 4 *seqq.*

44. *Od.*, IX, 252.

45. *Od.*, III, 71; cf. *Hymn. Apoll.*, 452.

46. There is an interesting confirmation of Thucydides in a passage from Xenophon's *Anabasis* (VI, 1, 7). It is the occasion on which the Ten Thousand are entertaining the Paphlagonians by an exhibition of the various armed dances of Greece. A dance called the *Carpæia* was performed by the Aenianes and Magnes: A man lays down his arms beside him, then ploughs and sows, but keeps looking about him. The robber approaches. When the ploughman sees him, he snatches his arms and fights for his oxen. Finally the robber binds the man and carries off both him and the oxen, but sometimes the ploughman is successful. This was done in rhythm to the music of the flute.

47. Plutarch, *Aratus*, 6.

48. Wace and Dawkins, *B.S.A.*, XII, p. 159. Symonds, *Italian Sketches*.

49. Newton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 296. For the name *Merovigli*, cf. Strabo, III, p. 159, 'Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκρᾷ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν σφόδρα τιμώμενον, ᾧ ἐχρήσατο Σεργάριος ὁρυγητὴρ κατὰ θάλατταν' ἐρυμνον γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ληστορικόν, κάτοπτον δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῖς πλέουσιν.

Here *Merovigli* is in the hands of the pirate, who from it looks out for passing merchantmen.

50. *Od.*, IX, 39. On the whole passage see Bérard, *op. cit.*, II, p. 3, who has a Frankish parallel for almost every incident. For the defenceless coast, cf. Polybius, II, 5.

51. This equal division of the spoil, which is the regular practice of the Homeric corsair (cf. *Od.*, IX, 547; XIV, 230) is, according to Bérard, the one great point of difference between him and his Frankish follower. The Greek then, as ever, was democratic, and in this respect he was followed by the British pirates. See the 'articles' given by Chas. Johnson, *General History of the Pyrates*, pp. 230, 352.

52. The second of Polybius' treaties between Rome and Carthage (III, 24, §5) belongs to this stage of development: 'If the Carthaginians take any city in Latium which is not subject to the Romans, let them keep the money and captives but restore the city. If any of the Carthaginians capture any who belong to a State allied with but not subject to Rome, let them not bring him into a Roman port.' The treaty implies that Roman subjects are to be let alone. (Cf. the earlier treaty, III, 22, §11).

53. Cf. the treatment of the Phocaeans by the people of Caere (Agylla) in Hdt. I, 166, with Strabo, V, p. 220, where it is stated that Caere, unlike most Tyrrhenian towns, refrained from piracy in spite of its excellent opportunities—doubtless on account of its close commercial relations with the Greeks.

54. Cf. the one recorded expedition of the Spartans overseas (Hdt., III, 47), when, according to their own account, the piracies of Polyocrates became unbearable.

55. I cannot here enter into the question how far the later commercial leagues in Greece had their origin in mutual assistance against pirates, and the police of the trade-routes.

56. Piratical Communities: Pelasgians of Lemnos (Hdt., VI, 138), Islanders, Carians, Phoenicians (Thuc., I, 8), Lycians (Heracl. Pont., fr. 15), Cretans (Hdt., I, 2), Dolopes of Scyros (Plutarch, *Cimon*, 8), the Thracian Chersonese (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 19).

After the fifth century: Alopeconnesos in the Thracian Chersonese (Demosth., XXIII, 166), Halonnesos (Demosth., VII, 1), Illyrians (Polyb., II, 4, etc.; Appian, *Illyr.*, 7, 8, 9). In succession, Tyrrhenians, Cretans, Cilicians (Strabo, X, p. 477).

57. The two associations are classed together, ἡ ἐπὶ λεῖαν οἰχόμενοι ἢ εἰς ἐμπορίαν. (Gaius, *Digest*, 47, 22).

58. Cf. Hesiod, *Erg.*, 356, Δὺς ἀγαθῆ, "Ἀρπάζ δὲ κακῆ," Θανάτῳ δότ'εῖπα—a curious mixture of good principles and worldly wisdom.

59. Hdt., I, 166; VI, 138; Plutarch, *Cimon*, 8.

60. Aeschines, III, 1.

61. Plutarch, *Cimon*, 8, *seqq.*

62. *Id.*, *Pericles*, 17.

63. *C. I. G.*, 3044; Hicks and Hill, 23.

64. Hdt., VI, 16.

65. Thuc., III, 33.

66. Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 45.

67. Aesch., I, 191.

68. Demosthenes, XXXIII, 166; VII, 1.

69. *Id.*, LIII, 5.

70. *Id.*, LII, 5.

71. 'Broken men,' Strabo, VIII, pp. 387-8. On the developments of piracy during the period of the *Diadochi* see, in particular, Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-87; Holm, *Hist. Greece*, vol. IV (E.T.), p. 86.

72. Diod. Sic., XX, 110.

73. *Aratus*, 6.

74. Diod. Sic., XX, 97.

75. Paus., I, 7, 3. Cf. Ditt. *Syll.*, 220.

76. Livy, XXXVII, 11.

77. Polyaeus, IV, 6, 18.

78. Ditt. *Syll.*, 213; Hicks, 167, §3. See Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 86, n. 63.

79. Duruy, *Hist. Rome*, II, 766.

80. C.I.A., II, 804, l. 32; Ditt. *Syll.*, 530 (335-4 B.C.).

81. Pseudo-Dem., LVIII, 53, 56.

82. *Id.*, VII, *arg.* 1; VII, 14.

83. Ditt. *Syll.*, 153. Cf. Dinarchus, fr. XII, no. 46; Hyperides, LVI, 205.

84. Diod. XVI, 5. Cf. the fortification of the peninsula Scyllacum at an earlier date by Anaxilas of Rhegium against the Tyrrhenians, to guard the Straits against pirates (Strabo, VI, 257). Aristides (XXVII, 3) speaks of trophies at Rhodes consisting of prows of the ships of Tyrrhenian pirates. Torr, *Rhodes*, p. 48, would, however, assign the captures to early Rhodian voyages in the West.

85. Strabo, X, 477.

86. *I. G.*, XI, 148, l. 73.

87. Strabo, V, 232.
88. Diod. Sic., XX, 81; Strabo, XIV, 652; see also below, note 97.
89. Cauer, *Del.*, 181. Possibly the earlier Rhodian alliance (*temp.* Demetrius) with Cnossos was of similar character (Diod. Sic., XX, 88).
90. *I. G.*, XII, 3, 129; but see Ditt. *Syll.*, 921.
91. Ditt. *Syll.*, 190. Cf. *Syll.*, 221, similar action by Ptolemy's στρατηγὸς ἐφ' Ἑλληνιστοῦ.
92. Probably to this time are to be assigned the small round or square towers (built of Hellenic masonry, often with an adjacent courtyard) which are common in the islands. They are found for the most part in the more fertile portions of the islands, at some distance from the towns, and would serve as temporary refuges in case of raids. There are as many as 12 in both Siphnos and Amorgos. (See *B.S.A.*, XII, 155, where further references are given).
93. Ditt. *Syll.*, 244.
94. *Ib.*, 255. Pompeius later did much to remedy the depopulation of certain districts by planting settlements of reformed pirates after their reduction (Strabo, XIV, 665).
95. *Op. cit.*, V, 90.
96. Cf. Strabo, XIV, 668, on the growth of piracy in the Levant. The kings of Cyprus and of Egypt were largely responsible, owing to their enmity to Syria. Even the Rhodians were willing enough to let piracy flourish in the Levant so long as only Syrian commerce was affected.
97. Later Rhodian efforts: Rhodian ships employed by J. Caesar (Suetonius, *Caesar*, 4, 74), and serving under Pompeius (Florus, III, 6).
98. Strabo, XIV, 668.
99. The Roman attitude in imperial times with regard to the outer seas is curiously parallel, Strabo, XI, 495. The native rulers ransom captives from the pirates of the Caucasian coast, and sometimes catch the pirates, but the districts under the Roman suffer most owing to the neglect of the officials.
100. Cic., *Verr.*, 4, 9-10; Dio Cass., XXXVI, 20.
101. On the latter see Diod. Sic., XXXVI, 3. Nicomedes of Bithynia, when asked for a contingent, replied that the majority of the Bithynians had been kidnapped by the tax-farmers and were now slaves.
102. Strabo, XIV, 669. *ἐμπορε καταπλεῖσθαι, ἐξελοῦ, πάντα πέπραται.*
103. Corycus was a harbour near Erythrae, much frequented by pirates, who would fraternise with visiting merchants, find out their cargo and destination, and cut their throats on the high seas (Strabo, XIV, p. 644).
104. 'Sinus aureus' (Florus, III, 1).
105. See Fergusson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 431. Fergusson ascribes to this cause the sack of Delos in 69 B.C.
106. One curious point is made by Plutarch (*Pompeius*, 24) who states that the pirates had much to do with the dissemination of Mithraism.
107. The *hemolia* was a long, light galley, with one complete tier of rowers, and one half tier, leaving space for fighters; the *myoparo*, a small undecked brigantine with high curving prow, mast, sails, and oars. (See Daresberg and Saglio, *sup.*).
108. Polybius (II, 9 *seqq.*) has an interesting account of the Illyrian tactics: against the heavy (Achaean) quinqueremes they yoke four light boats abreast, offering an exposed flank to the enemy, who rams. The pirates then board, while the prow of the quinquereme is encumbered with the wreckage of the damaged boat, which is kept afloat by the other three.
109. Dio Cass., XXXVI, 20 *seqq.*; Appian, *Bell. Mithr.*, 92, *seqq.*
110. Appian, *loc. cit.*; Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 25; Strabo, XIV, p. 665.
111. Cicero, *Pro Leg. Man.*, 11.
112. Appian, *op. cit.*, 51.
113. *Ib.*, 33; a variant in Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 2.

- 113. Appian, *op. cit.*, 56.
- 114. Cic., *op. cit.*, 13; Dio Cass., XXXVI, 20.
- 115. Appian, *op. cit.*, 92.
- 116. Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 24.
- 117. Plutarch, *ib.*
- 118. *Id.*, *Julius*, 1.
- 119. Livy, *Ep.*, 99.
- 120. Appian, *Illyr.*, 16; Florus, IV, 12.
- 121. Appian, *B.C.*, IV, 65, Cassius and the Cilicians. For Sextus Pompeius see Plutarch, *Antonius*.

REVIEWS

[*The Editor would be glad to receive Books and Periodicals for review.*]

- H. G. SPEARING, M.A. *The Childhood of Art, or The Ascent of Man, a Sketch of the Vicissitudes of his upward Struggle, based chiefly on the Relics of his artistic Work in prehistoric Times.* New York : G. P. Putman's Sons. pp. XXX + 548, 16 plates in colour and 482 illustrations.

The present work is an attempt to give a comprehensive survey of the early art of Europe and Western Asia. Successive sections are devoted to the artistic remains of palaeolithic Europe (perhaps the best section of the book), Egypt, Chaldaea, Crete and classical Greece, the writer being careful to keep in view the interdependence of the various phases of man's artistic activities. The book is profusely and beautifully illustrated, the subjects being well chosen in accordance with the development of the author's theme. The collection of illustrations by itself makes the book a valuable one to the student and teacher.

At the same time, it must be admitted that many may find the book difficult to read. Much of it is written in the style of the popular lecture, and certain digressions, not out of place in a lecture, might well have been omitted. It would be unfortunate if, as might happen, persons who would otherwise derive much profit and pleasure from a perusal of the whole, should be deterred from reading to the end. Apart from this there can be nothing but praise for the work. The writer has a wide knowledge and has assimilated and set forth the results of the most recent explorations and research, up to the time of issue, while his treatment is distinguished throughout by a love of his subject.

H.A.O.

NOTICE

Students of Mesopotamian archaeology will be interested to hear that the Assyriological library of the late Canon C. H. W. Johns, Litt.D., D.D., has been presented, by his express wish, to Queens' College, Cambridge, where it is available for use by students. The library comprises a mass of MSS., notes, etc., in addition to the large number of books, which include many of the earlier works on the subject, now out of print and often unobtainable.

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